

MATERIAL RESTORATION

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MATERIAL RESTORATION
A Fragment from Eleventh-Century Echternach
in a Nineteenth-Century Parisian Codex

by

Carmela Vircillo Franklin



BREPOLS

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For Bill

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N.B. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.



Figure 1. Main sites of this story. Drawing by the author.

PREFACE

This book began serendipitously. I arrived in Rome on 11 September 2001 to take up residence at the American Academy as the Lucy Shoe Meritt Resident in Classical Studies. Seeking consolation during the ensuing anxious weeks in the manuscript collection of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, I stumbled upon a text on the liturgical feast of the 'Divisio apostolorum' copied in the margin of a twelfth-century codex from Trier, which led me to Thiofrid of Echternach as its possible author and to the poem 'Salve abba mitissime' which had been attributed to him. The invitation to participate in Spoleto's *Settimana di studio* in mid-April 2004 gave me the opportunity to present an interpretation of the poem that diverged from Bernhard Bischoff's and to begin in earnest a study of the entire fragment that became the subject of this small book. I want to thank the *Journal of Medieval Latin* and in particular Michael Herren and Christopher McDonough for their advice on various points concerning the second poem. Bernice Kaczynski encouraged me to develop the nineteenth-century episode in the history of the fragment. Fabian Lochner generously sent me a copy of his dissertation on the musical culture of medieval Echternach. Here also, I wish to recognize the contribution of Dr S. J. Barrett to this volume: the edition of the music which accompanies the two poems.

I thank Columbia University and the Classics Department for much generous support towards the publication of this work, including a visit to Paris in October 2003 to view the fragment for the first time. Among my colleagues there, Adam Kosto provided many answers and bibliographic suggestions to my questions about charters and their technical vocabulary. Robert Somerville was helpful in sorting out the documents of the Berengarian controversy. Consuelo Dutschke provided assistance with palaeographical and codicological conundrums. Susan Boynton's musicological guidance gave me confidence to include the music in this study.

Caroline Walker Bynum read an early draft of this study and helped me discern more clearly the path ahead.

When I returned to Rome in the summer of 2005, I brought with me a draft of what had become a short book. I wish to express my deep gratitude to the entire community of the American Academy in Rome, a remarkable context in which to live and work. I thank Patrick Geary who gave crucial suggestions for this study's final transformation, and Brian Stock and Elizabeth A. R. Brown for their encouragement and helpful comments, all while they resided on the Janiculum. I am grateful to Denise Gavio and the rest of the staff of the Library of the American Academy in Rome for their constant *disponibilità*, and to Kristine Iara for proofreading the German bibliography. An anonymous reader for the press gave invaluable advice.

I am happy to acknowledge the staff of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Site Richelieu, for their generous assistance both during my visits and in response to my requests for photographs. I am also grateful to Luc Deitz, Conservateur de la Recherche précieuse, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, who provided several illustrations and accompanied me to Echternach, and who, together with Thomas Falmagne, allowed me to consult the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg while still in draft.

I would not have been able to complete this project without the unfailing assistance of Marina Lella, whose support and organization ensured that I would find time for scholarship while serving as Director of the American Academy in Rome. I wish to express my deep appreciation to Gianpaolo Battaglia of the American Academy in Rome for his research assistance and for his skill in preparing the bibliography, revising the footnotes, transcribing documents, securing images, and in general for supervising the final stages of the preparation of the manuscript. *Grazie!*

Rome, 22 December 2008

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur [...] collegit [...] Ioannes Bollandus etc. [...] a tomo I Ianuarii (Antverpiae, 1643) ad tomum II Novembris (Bruxelliis, 1894); 3rd edn (Parisiis, apud V. Palmé) a tomo I Ianuarii (1863) ad tomum X Octobris (1869)</i>
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Ediderunt Socii Bollandiani (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–99; repr. 1992). Novum Supplementum. Edidit Henricus Fros (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986)</i>
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–)
<i>CLA</i>	<i>Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century</i> , ed. by Elias Avery Lowe, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–66)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter, 1866–)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Cologne: Böhlau; Berlin: Weidmann; Hannover: Hahn; Stuttgart: Hiersemann; Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1826–)
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
EEIV	Epistolae (in quarto)

- PLAC* *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, Poetae Latini medii aevi, 1–4, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, Ludwig Traube, and Paul von Winterfeld (Munich: MGH, 1881–1923; repr. 1997–2000)
- SS* Scriptores
- SRG* Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
- SRM* Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
- PL* *Patrologia latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64)
- Stegmüller Stegmüller, Friedrich, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi: Collegit, disposuit, edidit Fridericus Stegmüller, adiuvante Nicolao Reinhardt*, 11 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Francisco Suarez, 1940–80)

INTRODUCTION

Around the year 1000, Sigefrithus I of Luxembourg and his wife Hathawiga bequeathed their possessions in Monnerich (in present-day Esch Canton of Luxembourg) to the abbey of Echternach.¹ A large charter recording their donation (see Figure 10 in Chapter 3), folded in half across its width to form a bifolium (four pages) with the written surface on the inside, was inserted in its entirety in the binding at the back of a codex produced at the abbey's scriptorium. The last blank page was pasted down on the inside of the book's wood cover. On the first blank page, left loose as a flyleaf, two poems with glosses and musical notes were added in the course of the eleventh century (Figure 2). Except for a few pen marks added over the course of the centuries, the parchment remained undisturbed at Echternach until the secularization of the abbey and the dispersal of its library between 1796, which followed the French conquest of Luxembourg by Napoleon's army, and October 1802, when the most desirable Echternach manuscripts were shipped to Paris. On 6 May 1818, sixteen years later, a newly created parchment codex was added to the collection of Latin manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This factitious codex, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9488 (Suppl. lat. 1893), as it would be known eventually, was formed out of fragments recovered from the bindings of manuscripts in the BnF. One of these fragments was the bifolium created out of the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga, with the poems written on the first page (i.e. the recto of the former flyleaf), and with the blank page (the verso of the folio which had been glued onto the back of the original codex) making up the last page. This bifolium constitutes fols 77–78 of BnF, MS lat. 9488.

¹ This donation charter was not by Sigefrithus II, as is sometimes stated. See below, pp. 115–19, for my discussion of Sigefrithus I, who completed the transformation of a local dynasty into the house of Luxembourg. See p. 103 and note 5 for a discussion of the date of the charter.



Charter parchment



Folded charter, forming a bifolium



Last page of bifolium glued to back cover of BnF, lat. 10195; first folio left loose as fly leaf



First page of bifolium with the two poems written on it



Bifolium bound within BnF, lat. 9488 (ff. 77r-78v)



Side view of the bifolium within BnF, lat. 10195

Figure 2. Bifolium construction. Drawing by the author.

The charter thus preserved to our present days is the only non-royal charter from Echternach to survive in its original form between 762 and the beginnings of the twelfth century.²

During the second half of the twentieth century, research carried out by scholars of various disciplines within medieval studies has made many specialized contributions to our understanding of the medieval bifolium contained in the nineteenth-century factitious codex BnF, MS lat. 9488. Pierre Gasnault, who first identified the charter, employed the methodology of diplomatics and its closely allied disciplines of palaeography and codicology to shed light on the document of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga, for which the original parchment was prepared.³ Its transformation into a combination paste-down and flyleaf for a medieval codex and its nineteenth-century integration into a newly created codex were not explored. Yet, these investigations might have answered some of the very questions raised in Gasnault's article regarding the unusual codicological use of the document. Following an equally specialized textual and literary approach, Bernhard Bischoff, renowned for his work on Carolingian manuscripts, published the text of the first poem, 'Salve abba mitissime', which interested him chiefly as a late example of a literary genre that he had recently isolated, the *caritas-Lieder*.⁴ Bischoff's analysis did not, however, include the music, the second poem, 'O sacrata dies' (which might have cast a different light on his interpretation of 'Salve abba mitissime'), or, interestingly enough, the codicological context.⁵ Luxembourgian scholars of Echternach and its culture have placed the music and script of the poems within the cultural milieu of eleventh-century Echternach. However, they did not consider the equally important component of these hymns — their words. Without reference to the physical, scribal, and literary contexts of the bifolium,

² See below, Chapter 3.

³ Pierre Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach retrouvées à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *Revue Bénédictine*, 73 (1963), 48–56.

⁴ Bernhard Bischoff, 'Caritas-Lieder', in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), II, 57–77 (p. 73). An earlier version of this article was published in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien: Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. Juli 1949 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. by Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (St Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtei St Ottilien, 1950), pp. 165–86, but 'Salve abba mitissime' was not included.

⁵ 'Salve abba mitissime' is number 14542 in Dieter Schaller and others, *Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum: Bibliographisches Repertorium für die lateinische Dichtung der Antike und des früheren Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977); 'O sacrata dies' is not itemized.

questions raised by twentieth-century scholars have remained unanswered. The fragmented scholarly attention that has been directed in the past century to this codicological relic might stand as a metaphor for the process of physical fragmentation that began when the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga, along with its container codex, were removed from Echternach's library and brought to Paris, where we assume the charter was separated from the medieval codex and incorporated into a newly created 'medieval' manuscript.

Building on the work of earlier scholars who have treated separately the various issues surrounding this document, I want to present the bifolium and its history in its entirety, in terms of its production and its contents, from the creation of the charter at the end of the tenth century to the discovery and treatment of the bifolium by modern scholars. The bifolium can tell us much about Echternach and its written and literary culture, but it also casts light on the history of libraries and of the book, and the organization and fragmentation of modern scholarship. Only if the chapters that treat such different issues are integrated, however, can they tell the full story of this curious and intriguing object.

I began this study with an analysis of the first poem, 'Salve abba mitissime', published by Bischoff, with the goal of understanding more fully the cultural context of Echternach in the eleventh century, and particularly the poem's relation to the writings of its putative author, Thiofrid of Echternach. Moving on to the still unpublished 'O sacrata dies', I realized that a proper reading of both compositions required a full understanding of their material context, the bifolium on which the poems had been inscribed and the original codex which contained it when the poems were copied. My investigation therefore had to include a consideration of the charter and of how and why it came to be made a material part, a combination paste-down and flyleaf, of the manuscript into which the poems were copied. At the same time, and perhaps more importantly for my original purpose, I wanted to rematerialize the poems by reading them not as individual and isolated compositions, but in relation to the contents of the codex in which they were contained, if possible, and in relation to other texts and books that have survived from eleventh-century Echternach. I hoped thus to illuminate the cultural and literary contexts in which these poems were created, read, and sung. I felt that the presence of both verbal and musical glosses on the poems was particularly significant, for they connected the poems with Echternach's teachers, whose copious glosses on a variety of texts have been studied by scholars in several fields. Echternach books, in fact, are significant repositories of medieval glosses in several languages. Only the identification of the original codex that had contained the bifolium, however, could provide the material and literary evidence that would apply specifically to my

documents, the poems and the charter of Sigefrithus. This seemed, at first, a utopian wish. When I visited the Bibliothèque nationale to view the fragment encased in its nineteenth-century container, I was told that in fact, guided by the charter's contents and the general knowledge of the fate of Echternach's books, the bifolium's provenance from an Echternach codex, contrary to what Gasnault had written, was not supported by the archival records of the BnF.⁶

These unresolved questions regarding the source of the fragment led me to include in my study an investigation of the most recent chapter of the bifolium's story, the dismemberment of the codex that served as container of the bifolium for eight hundred years. I sought to learn how this medieval object had been brought to Paris many centuries after its creation, how its two parts had been finally torn apart during the nineteenth century, and how the bifolium had been integrated into another material container, the one in which it is still found today. While I never hoped to identify the original container-codex, I believed that I could at least discover traces of its movements and of its fate. In fact, as I soon discovered, the manuscript to which the bifolium had been originally attached is an Echternach manuscript also found today in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 10195). This unexpected identification makes it possible for us to reconstruct the story of the bifolium, including its last chapter, the removal of the codex to Paris early in the nineteenth century and its fate thereafter. It tells a story of heroes and villains, greed and deceit, but also of protection and preservation of historical artefacts.

I believe also that the story of the bifolium needs to be understood within several larger and related contexts. One such context is the history and dispersal of Echternach's books, a fate that befell most medieval libraries in the modern age. As scholars of medieval and early modern times know only too well, such interruptions in the transmittal of evidence from the periods we study have serious implications for our research. Yet, the field of 'book history' is frequently isolated as the territory of librarians and bibliographers or, sometimes, of palaeographers and traditional textual critics. It is rarely included into literary or historical studies. Another context is that of the French appropriation of another country's cultural patrimony, a central event in Revolutionary and Napoleonic times, and one that finds many parallels in the military and political history of the modern age up to the present. Then, as now, nationalism, religious and secularist tensions, the destruction that accompanies war and revolution, and the lure of financial profit played a large role in the alienation of a significant cultural treasure, the ancient library of the abbey of Echternach, arguably Luxembourg's most precious possession.

⁶ See below, pp. 50–51 and note 115.

The incorporation of the bifolium into a factitious medieval codex at the BnF can also be viewed as part of a larger movement, as an illustration of the medievalism of the middle years of the nineteenth century, generally associated with such figures as Viollet-le-Duc in France or John Ruskin in England. Manuscripts, particularly those with illustrations, acquired new value as art objects, as they were brought out of the monasteries and churches that had housed them for centuries and traded by Europe's great booksellers and auction houses. The careful preservation of our bifolium — as an object, and not only of its contents — was at least partly motivated by this new appreciation of the historical and artistic significance of medieval books and fragments.

Scholars of medieval texts have given much attention in recent years to discussions of philology. There have been calls for the creation of a 'new philology' that would go beyond the old philology's preoccupation with text and language, and its ambition, utopian to some, of establishing the original text, whether through the rigours of the classical Lachmanian stemma or through the best manuscript approach favoured by the medievalist Joseph Bédier. These recent scholars have felt it necessary to rehabilitate philology, which they saw marginalized at the hands of 'contemporary movements in cognitive methodologies', by obliterating the traditional partition between the textual critic (or philologist) on the one hand and the literary and cultural critic on the other.⁷ Central in this recasting has been an effort to exploit the material context and the physical transmission of the text, the deposit through which a written work's layered cultural context can be excavated. A new term, 'material philology', was coined to replace the narrower and more technical 'codicology', which had been used by palaeographers and scholars of manuscripts to refer to those disciplines that focus on the codex's physical characteristics: bindings, inks, parchments, etc. While the old philology, according to its recent critics, emphasized 'content', texts disembodied from the manuscripts that

⁷ Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 1–10 (p. 1). Nichols's article provides the introduction to this issue of *Speculum*, dedicated entirely to the 'new philology'. For a discussion of the *Speculum* volume, see *Towards a Synthesis? Essays on the New Philology*, ed. by Keith Busby (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993). For another, thorough critique of the old philology, see also Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989). For a discussion of the two methodologies for the textual editions from a medievalist point of view, see Leonard E. Boyle, 'Optimist and Recensionist: "Common Errors" or "Common Variations"?', in *Latin Script and Letters, A.D. 400–900: Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. by John J. O'Meara and Bernd Neumann (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 264–74.

contained them (for its supreme purpose was to restore the original text as written by its author), the new philology, and material philology in particular, focuses on the physical object, the container in which the text has been copied and read. Thus each text, or rather each copy of a text, is not simply a point or stage in the genealogical tree that is created to return to the ur-text, but should be seen as a construct of a specific time and place, and worthy of study for its own sake.⁸

This attention to philology by a broader range of scholars has enriched the field of medieval studies. Medievalists, after all, are concerned with that period of Western history before the invention of printing in which the transmission of texts is an extremely significant cultural marker, a complex and widespread activity which has resulted in a great deal of physical evidence. In this, we have the advantage over classicists, whose texts have come down almost completely deracinated from the physical and cultural medium that first produced them. Also, medievalists are allowed, by the scholarly divisions that organize the modern Academy, to pursue the material philology not only of medieval texts, but also of those produced in antiquity. The reception of classical literature, on the other hand, is not a high-status subject for classicists, *pace* protestations to the contrary. The material philology of the pre-print era, of both classical and medieval texts, belongs to medievalists.

In this study, I offer an approach that attempts to adhere to the new philology. My work considers the texts under discussion as part of the material codices in which they have been found, in both medieval and modern times. Both codices that enclosed the bifolium can be seen as belonging to the typology of the medieval miscellany, a book format that has received particular attention lately.⁹ I also read the texts within the literary community that produced and read them by considering them in relation to other texts and manuscripts produced or available at Echternach during the eleventh century. Yet, I also aspire to abide by the methodology

⁸ This is only one of the critical objections raised against the old philology, but it seems to be to be the central one. All the other significant criticisms — that the old philology presupposes a single, original author and an original, pure text; that it is positivist; that it aspires to, and was influenced by, models derived from nineteenth-century science now outmoded — can be subsumed under the claim that the old philology condemned the particularities of each textual witness, and hence did not value each manuscript copy ‘for itself’. The title of Cerquiglini’s book makes this point.

⁹ Most recently, *Il codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale. Cassino 14/17 maggio 2003, Segno e testo, International Journal on Manuscripts and Text Transmission*, vol. II, ed. by Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2004); *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

of the old philology, which insisted on a detailed and meticulous study of the language of the text and on the collation and comparison of the manuscript witness(es) for a proper understanding of the author's creation. It is an approach that necessarily cuts across temporal and geographical divides.

The material on the history of the bifolium in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be presented in Part I of this book, which will also serve as an introduction to the questions that are raised by this object and its discovery and the way that recent scholars have treated them. In the next section (Part II), I will go back and consider the earliest part of the story, beginning with the creation of the charter and of the original manuscript (BnF, MS lat. 10195) that contained it (Chapter 3). The preservation of such a document in such a format finds no exact parallels that have survived. I will endeavour to re-create the historical circumstances that can explain how and why the charter of Sigfrithus and Hathawiga (shown in Figure 10) was glued onto the back of this particular book around the year 1000. I will argue that this unusual, if not unique, document can best be understood within the context of Echternach's history in the tenth century and in relation to the patronage of Sigfrithus, first as lay abbot and then as leader in the re-establishment of monastic observance at the abbey. Also important for my reconstruction of the context in which the charter was created and preserved will be the production of the scriptorium of Echternach, which testifies to the monastic interest in early Christian and classical texts during this period of reform. I include at the beginning of this chapter an edition and translation of the charter.

The major portion of this section is devoted to the manuscript in the eleventh century, when the poems were copied and the glosses were added on many of the texts contained in the codex-safe. The poems' words, their music, and the verbal notes added in the margins and over a few words of the second poem are still clearly legible, except in a few places where faded script can be reconstituted with the help of ultraviolet light (see Figure 15, in Chapter 4). I begin with my edition of the two poems and their glosses, along with a translation and notes (Chapter 4). I also include an edition of the musical glosses, prepared by S. J. Barrett. I then propose a reading of each poem, first in its own right, and then in relation to the other, to which it is attached spatially, musically, and, as we shall see, thematically. Similarly, my discussion of the glosses (Chapter 7) includes a consideration of both verbal and musical notes and relates them to the work of the masters who annotated the entire codex. In this part, I apply the results of my palaeographical and codicological analyses of the codex and the bifolium, of the scripts of the poems, of the glosses, and of the main contents of the container codex. What we learn from the results of such technical investigations allows us to address more precisely the questions of dating and authorship of the poems, and thus provide a more detailed

historical context, within which we can understand how the poems were read at Echternach in the latter part of the eleventh century.

These central chapters seek to highlight the importance of these hitherto neglected poems and, especially in the case of the second poem, little-known witnesses to Echternach's eleventh-century literary culture. Echoing the conclusions of musicologists, I underline the experimental and mannered qualities of these texts, evident especially in their poetic forms, which exploit the potential of metre and rhythm to bolster the message of the words. Following in the path of Echternach's historians, however, I also read these poems as expressions of Echternach's eleventh-century traditional monastic culture. I will argue that 'Salve abba mitissime' has been misread as a parodic hymn of praise to wine and that, despite its links to the *caritas-Lieder* recognized by Bernhard Bischoff, the poem departs in significant ways from that tradition. I will argue that, belying its simplicity, the poem reflects Scripture's monastic image as allegorical food going back to the Fathers, while echoing the figurative language attached to the sacrament of the Eucharist, whose precise nature was the subject of contemporary debates that would have resounded at Echternach and its library.

'O sacrata dies', which until recently remained unpublished,¹⁰ offers a different though related approach to the Scriptures. While 'Salve' is steeped in the allegorical images of spiritual, monastic exegesis, 'O sacrata dies' is an extravagant example of the application of biblical hermeneutics. The composition centres principally on the allegorical interpretation of Old Testament episodes with their New Testament correspondents, rigidly controlled by a rare metrical scheme going back to a unique early Christian model, Sedulius's *Hymnus* 1. I read 'O sacrata dies' against the only two earlier models that have survived: the fifth-century Sedulian composition and *Carmen* 16 of Hrabanus Maurus (780–856).¹¹ Vital to our understanding of this typological poem is the tradition of patristic exegesis which underlay the daily monastic round of liturgy and study at Echternach and which is exemplified by the abbey's surviving, though now scattered, books. Among these is a liturgical lectionary, which I intend to use as a model, or analogue, to re-create the liturgical context of the biblical culture from which the poet drew inspiration, the monastic habit of *lectio divina*.

¹⁰ Carmela Viricillo Franklin, "O sacrata dies": A New Typological Poem in Epanaleptic Elegiacs', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), 69–72. I thank the editors of the journal for their kind permission to reprint it here.

¹¹ Sedulius's poem is edited in *Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. by Johannes Huemer, CSEL, 10 (1885), pp. 155–62; the glosses by Remigius of Auxerre (discussed below, pp. 202–03) are found on pp. 356–59. Hrabanus's poem is edited by E. Dümmler in MGH, *PLAC*, II, 178–81.

Part I:
The Modern Age

THE FRAGMENTATION OF MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

The bifolium that is now BnF, MS lat. 9488, fols 77–78, was brought to scholars' attention in 1963 when the charter, which was virtually illegible because of the use of acid in the middle of the nineteenth century, was first published by Pierre Gasnault, a scholar and staff member of the BnF.¹ Gasnault reconstructed the outlines of the charter's history, dating it to the period 996–97. The document's script and size led the French scholar to conclude that it was an original charter, or at least an exact contemporary copy. He dated its reuse in the binding at the back of a codex, revealed by signs of 'l'ais de bois d'une reliure' (the wooden board of a binding) on the verso of fol. 78 of BnF, MS lat. 9488, to the eleventh century, the date of the poems' script and musical neumes.² He was puzzled, therefore, by its recycling as a binding support relatively soon after its composition, but did not investigate this unusual codicological context.³ Gasnault was convinced that the codex that had enclosed the bifolium from the eleventh to the nineteenth century was one of the Echternach manuscripts brought to the BnF in the years after the French Revolution. Almost all of these manuscripts, as Gasnault knew well, were rebound upon their accession into France's newly created

¹ Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach'.

² Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 51, does not specify any further: 'dont les caractères graphiques sont ceux du xi siècle' (whose graphic characters are those of the eleventh century).

³ Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 51: 'Une telle utilisation pour un document d'archives encore récent paraît étonnante à nos yeux' (Such utilization of a recent archival document would seem surprising to me).

national library. While the fragments recovered from the bindings of these codices were preserved, a record of their sources has not been kept at the BnF.⁴

Pierre Gasnault's diplomatic sleuthing did not include the poems copied on the first page of the double folio (fol. 77^r). He described the first as 'une sorte d'hymne parodique à louange du vin, composé de neuf strophes de quatre vers' (a sort of parodic hymn in praise of wine consisting of nine four-verse stanzas) and published the first stanza in a footnote.⁵ He paid similarly scant attention to the second poem, which he characterized as 'une suite de quatorze distiques sur le thème de la concordance entre l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament' (a suite of fourteen distichs on the theme of the agreement between the Old and the New Testaments).⁶

The text of the first poem was analysed by Bernhard Bischoff in his study of the tradition of *caritas-Lieder*, poems or songs originating from the monastic custom of dispensing extra food and drink on feast days and recalling the theme of *caritas* as love of brother, neighbour, or God.⁷ Bischoff did not discuss at length the literary features of 'Salve abba mitissime', which he saw as a late example of the genre, but he published it entirely, albeit without its music, and suggested a historical context for its composition. He proposed that 'Salve abba mitissime' was addressed to Abbot Regimbert of Echternach (1051–81), whose liberality to his monastic brethren (as highlighted in Echternach's first Abbots' Catalogue) parallels Bischoff's interpretation of the poem as a *caritas-Lied*. Among other concessions, Regimbert enhanced the monks' food rations by decreeing that one egg and one cheese, which had been shared by four monks, be now divided among three.⁸ Interestingly,

⁴ Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 54.

⁵ Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 51 and n. 2.

⁶ Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 51.

⁷ Bischoff, 'Caritas-Lieder'.

⁸ *Catalogus abbatum epternacensium primus*, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, MGH, SS, 23, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz and others (Hannover: Hahn, 1874; repr. 1963), pp. 32–33: 'Domnus itaque abbas Reginbertus, assumpto pastoralis officio, ut fidelis servus et prudens dispensator, subditos sibi fratres, ut pater filios, educavit ac dilexit [. . .] Pani fratrum quadrantem apposuit, praebendam in ovis et caseis et uncia adauxit, addens unicuique fratrum ad statutum ovum unum, et caseum, qui antea inter 4 dividebatur, inter 3 partiri iussit; et ad unciam 18 denarios addidit' (Thus the Lord Abbot Regimbert, having assumed his pastoral office, as a faithful servant and prudent manager, educated the monks placed under his rule, and loved them as a father loves his sons. He increased by a fourth the monks' bread; he augmented the allowance in eggs, and cheese, and coin, adding for each monk, ordering that one egg and one cheese, which had been divided into four, now be divided into three; and he added eighteen denarii to the *uncia*). See also Camille Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen über die*

Bischoff made no comments on the script — which he must have dated to the second half of the eleventh century, the date he assigns to the composition — or the intriguing codicological context of the poem. He also ignored the poem's musical notations and made no mention at all of the second poem, written just below the first. He did not consider a broader interpretation of 'Salve abba mitissime' suggested by its physical and chronological proximity to 'O sacrata dies'. Such omissions suggest the possibility that Bischoff did not examine the poem in the Paris manuscript, but read it in the illustration published by the monks of Solesmes in 1963, which I discuss below. It is difficult to understand, otherwise, Bischoff's disregard for the codicological context.⁹ His identification of Abbot Regimbert as the poem's dedicatee would be used later to advance a theory for the authorship of the poem, but it has not remained unchallenged.¹⁰

'Salve abba mitissime' attracted no further notice, until Jean Schroeder proposed Thiofrid, a monk and abbot (1081–1110) of Echternach as the author and scribe.¹¹ Schroeder analysed the scribal culture of Echternach, in particular its large collection of manuscripts of the liberal arts from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, which were systematically corrected and glossed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Schroeder was not interested in the poem's contents or in its music, or in its companion piece, but rather in strengthening his palaeographical argument that identified the principal corrector and glossator of the liberal arts codices (= Anonymous X), already active in the mid-eleventh century, as Thiofrid of Echternach. Schroeder thus sought to transform the figure of Thiofrid from the narrow author of hagiographical works pertaining to Echternach and its region and of a treatise on relics and their containers, into Echternach's most important scholar and teacher of the eleventh century. Thiofrid's broad scholarly interests, according to Schroeder, were illuminated by his extensive glossing activity.¹² Schroeder's palaeographical analysis led him to state first that the hand that wrote

Person des Gründers, über die Kloster- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte auf Grund des Liber Aureus Epternacensis (698–1222), I.1: *Textband*; I.2: *Quellenband* (Luxembourg: Luxemburger Kunstdruckerei, 1929–30), I.1, 235–41, esp. p. 238.

⁹ The first edition of Bischoff's study of the *caritas-Lieder*, published in 1950, does not include 'Salve abba mitissime', which was added in the 1967 edition.

¹⁰ See Chapters 5 and 7 below.

¹¹ Jean Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule der Abtei Echternach um die Jahrtausendwende* (Luxembourg: Imprimerie Joseph Beffort, 1977), pp. 111–12; extracted from *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 91 (1977), 201–377.

¹² For Thiofrid and his works, see Chapter 5 below.

'Salve abba mitissime' was the same as that of the glossator whom he called Anonymous X. Second, Schroeder pointed out that Thiofrid cited some of the lines glossed by Anonymous X.¹³ Schroeder attributed the authorship of 'Salve abba mitissime' to Thiofrid through two similarly linked arguments. First, following Bischoff's suggestion that the poem was addressed to Regimbert, Schroeder concluded that Thiofrid, whom Regimbert selected as his successor as abbot,¹⁴ was the only monk from Regimbert's entourage known also as a poet.¹⁵ Second, Schroeder noted that two of the psalms alluded to in the poem are also cited in Thiofrid's *Vita* of St Liutwin, the founder of the monastery of Mettlach and Archbishop of Trier (d. c. 713).¹⁶

Schroeder, however, did not consider the full implications of his arguments. For example, he did not analyse the poem within the contexts of Thiofrid's larger opus or Echternach's literary production during the abbacies of Regimbert and Thiofrid. In fact, Schroeder did not fully exploit the argument presented by the common psalms since he did not compare their application in Thiofrid's *Vita S. Liutwini* and in 'Salve abba mitissime'. He did not discuss the rich hermeneutic tradition invested in these psalms, going back to patristic times and transmitted in monastic exegesis, and he made no comparison of their intertextual use in the two works of Thiofrid. Nor did he note that Thiofrid made use of these same psalms in his treatise on relics, the *Flores epytaphii sanctorum*.¹⁷

¹³ Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, pp. 111–14.

¹⁴ *Catalogus primus*, ed. by Weiland, p. 33: 'Ad postremum successorem sibi domnum Thiofridum designavit' (Finally he designated the Lord Thiofrid as his successor).

¹⁵ Thiofrid, for example, composed a verse (as well as prose) *Life* of Willibrord (*BHL* 8941), ed. by Albert Poncelet in *AASS*, November, III (1910), pp. 459–500. The best introduction to the life and works of Thiofrid are Michele Camillo Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi venerantes memoriam: Echternacher Schreiber und Schriftsteller von den Angelsachsen bis Johann Bertels. Ein Überblick*, Publications du Centre Luxembourgeois de Documentation et d'Études Médiévales, 6 (Luxembourg: Centre Luxembourgeois de Documentation et d'Études Médiévales, 1994), pp. 49–68, and Ferrari's introduction to the edition of Thiofrid's treatise on relics, the *Flores epytaphii sanctorum* in CCCM, 133 (1996), on which see Chapter 5 further below.

¹⁶ Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, pp. 99–114. The two psalms are 103. 15 and 22. 5; see below, Chapter 5, for my discussion of the psalm citations. The *Vita Liutwini* is edited in Willibrord Lampen, *Thiofried von Echternach en zijn Vita S. Liutwini* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Teulings, 1936).

¹⁷ It is also necessary to stress, however, the pioneering nature of Schroeder's work. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Schriften der MGH, 30, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), I, 510–11, provides important corrections to Schroeder's conclusions (some of which I discuss below), while also pointing out the need for further investigations of Echternach's scriptorium. A most important resource is now Thomas Falmagne, with

Schroeder's attribution of 'Salve abba mitissime' to Thiofrid, both as scribe and as author, has been seriously questioned.¹⁸ I shall examine both the script and contexts of the poem to address the question of scribal and poetic authorship. Through detailed examination of the script of both poems and of their glosses in the context of the codex that originally contained the bifolium, I shall strengthen the evidence for the activities of Anonymous X as glossator and consider its implications for the Anonymous X's presumed identification with Thiofrid, and the authorship of 'Salve abba mitissime'. In turn, such evidence can also be used to enrich our knowledge of Echternach's scribal and scholarly culture during this period.

The poems have undergone further scrutiny by musicologists, but their attention was focused on the music notations; the texts themselves sparked little interest. Michel Huglo reports that he first examined the codex (BnF, MS lat. 9488) in which the fragment is contained in May 1955.¹⁹ In 1963, the monks of the Benedictine abbey of Solesmes (France), as part of their effort to anchor the study of medieval music within the original documents, published a photograph of the top two thirds of fol. 77^r to illustrate the style of rare musical notation, known as 'Dasia', added to 'Salve abba mitissime'.²⁰ The second poem was misidentified in

Luc Deitz, *Die Echternacher Handschriften bis zum Jahr 1628 in den Beständen der Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg sowie der Archives diocésaines de Luxembourg, der Archives nationales, der Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal und des Grand Séminaire de Luxembourg*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009). This catalogue includes 153 fragments, most of them new and corresponding to 103 codicological units. I thank both Thomas Falmagne and Luc Deitz for making some of their materials available to me in typescript form.

¹⁸ Both palaeographic and historical arguments have been challenged by Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, esp. p. 25 and n. 113, pp. 35–37. Ferrari notes that Schroeder has conflated several glossing hands into one and disputes Schroeder's argument that the hand of Anonymous X is the same hand that wrote the poem. Ferrari also points out that the glossed lines from the classical poets are very commonly cited and that all monks learned the psalms and all quoted them. Ferrari, who seems to accept the dating of the activities of Anonymous X to the middle of the eleventh century, points out that Thiofrid would have been very young then and that the glossing of classical texts was generally the work of teachers. Ferrari furthermore questions Bischoff's identification of the subject of 'Salve abba mitissime' with Regimbert; other abbots, including Thiofrid, could be likewise identified.

¹⁹ Michel Huglo, 'Les Fragments d'Echternach (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat. 9488)', in *Willibrord, Apostel der Niederlande, Gründer der Abtei Echternach: Gedenkgabe zum 1250. Todestag des angelsächsischen Missionars*, ed. by Georges Kiesel and Jean Schroeder, Auftrag des Institut d'Echternach (Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 1989), pp. 144–49 (p. 145 and pl. 19), which reproduces fol. 77^r.

²⁰ *La Notation musicale des chants liturgiques latins*, ed. by Dom Jacques Hourlier (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1963), p. 39. The attribution of this notation to Hucbald of

this publication as a 'liste d'hymnes'. The plate included the top nine lines of this 'list of hymns', but without comment or warning that the plate reproduces only a part of the page and that the bottom five lines of the second poem are missing from the picture.

Fabian Lochner considered both poems in his assessment of Echternach's musical culture during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Both texts are marked with Dasian signs, as well as with letter notation and neumes. Lochner identified the likely source of this antiquated musical notation, a theoretical treatise on the Dasia discovered in the library of Echternach. He was prevented from making a proper evaluation of the second poem, 'O sacrata dies', which had remained unpublished and unstudied.²¹ In this work is included S. J. Barrett's edition of all the musical glosses, which are also considered in my discussion of all the glosses.

The work of Schroeder and Lochner forms part of a general effort to re-create the intellectual and cultural history of the abbey of Echternach through the reconstruction of the abbey's ancient scriptorium, a task made difficult by the dispersal of the abbey's library in the wake of the French Revolution.²² It is hardly surprising that so much of the scholarship on Echternach's book production has been beset by uncertainty and that the work of so many scholars, from Luxembourg in particular, has been dedicated to the restoration of Echternach's dispersed and fragmented library.²³ This study aims to contribute to such a restoration.

Saint-Amand (d. 930) is now doubted. This plate may have been the source of Bischoff's edition. See above.

²¹ Fabian Lochner, 'La Culture musicale de l'abbaye d'Echternach au Moyen Age', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1987–88), especially I, 63–67, 229–30, 255–64. I am extremely grateful to Fabian Lochner for providing me with a copy of his dissertation.

²² During the first half of the twentieth century, several Luxembourgian scholars were hard at work identifying Echternach's manuscripts housed at the national libraries of Paris and Luxembourg. Carl Nordenfalk characterized this search as a 'detective problem, on which quite a few outstanding codicologists were to test their acumen' (*Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis: An Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971), p. 35).

²³ This in turn has made it difficult to appreciate fully Echternach's contribution to the culture of the time. Nordenfalk, for example, showed how scholars' understanding of the school of illumination at Echternach was grossly distorted by the dispersal of its luxury books (*Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 37).

DISPERSAL AND RESTORATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Dispersal of Echternach's Library

At the close of 1718, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, two Benedictine monks from the Congregation of Saint-Maur, spent several days at the Abbey of Echternach completing their second 'voyage littéraire'.¹ While the first voyage, from 1709 to 1713, took stock of the holdings and condition of French churches and monasteries (the voyagers visited one hundred dioceses and eight hundred monasteries), the second trip surveyed the literary monuments preserved in the monastic houses of the Low Countries and Germany. The French visitors noted that, despite the religious wars, Echternach's treasures remained intact. In fact, a large number of manuscripts remained there, 'almost all of them very ancient'. As was their custom, Martène and Durand were selective in their discussion of manuscripts. They begin with a Gospel, 'written in golden letters on large vellum', and of unsurpassed beauty, containing splendid miniatures of the life

¹ The *Second voyage littéraire* constitutes a third volume of the edition I have used of the *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint Maur*, ed. by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, 2 vols (Paris: Delaulne, 1717). In this edition, the volume *Second voyage* has no title page and no date but was clearly printed as a supplement to the earlier two volumes of the *Voyage*, and is so catalogued in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Stampati, Barb. Z.X 80–82). The two monks began their second journey on 30 May 1718 and ended it on the Feast of St Maur, 15 January 1719, as they state in the opening section of their book, where the purposes and itinerary of this second voyage are discussed. Their visit to Echternach is described on pp. 297–301. I am puzzled by Nordenfalk's statement (*Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 34) that the visit began on 1 January 1719 and that the book was published in 1724 (which is the date of a later edition).

of Christ, some of which they describe in detail.² They go on to discuss a Gospel written in 'Saxon letters', noting its subscription, and speculate on whether Willibrord could have brought this book from England.³ A copy of Jerome's Martyrology, also in 'Saxon letters', is discussed (and it is noted that the text has been published by the Bollandists), and they remark that it has a calendar on which the anniversary of Willibrord's ordination to the priesthood is marked, a detail which leads Martène and Durand to speculate whether it was written by Willibrord or a contemporary.⁴ They also describe a copy of Jerome's works, including the *Hebrew Questions*, worthy of notice perhaps because the form of the Hebrew letters is depicted,⁵ and a copy of Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks*, 'at least eight hundred years old'.⁶ They note numerous variations from the printed edition, especially the order of the second book's chapters. The French visitors thus singled out manuscripts that were highly illuminated, particularly old, or significant for scholarly reasons. Their literary voyages were research trips to gather materials for a new edition of *Gallia christiana*, the historical encyclopedia of the French Church, diocesan and monastic, published in 1656.

The two French Benedictine monks left Echternach soon after the New Year to go to Münster, and to the abbey of Orval. They had been displeased by the fancy music performed during the Mass on the Feast of the Circumcision in Echternach's abbey church ('it relieves the religious from chant duty, but it does not inspire devotion as does a well-regulated plainchant'),⁷ but they were impressed by the library, noting that its ancient books were untouched by the 'great revolutions' of the preceding age.

Less than a century after the Maurists' visit, a new and, this time, devastating revolution would dramatically affect the library of the abbey of Echternach. While the breakup and scattering of most medieval libraries is accepted as an inevitable

² Now Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 156142, the Codex Aureus. The two Maurists assumed from the book's cover, which depicted Emperor Otto III and his mother Theophanu, that this most splendid manuscript had been an imperial gift. In fact, the cover had been reused. On this, and the other manuscripts discussed by Martène and Durand, see below (this chapter).

³ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9389 (= Echternach Gospels).

⁴ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10837. See note 13 below.

⁵ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9525.

⁶ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9765.

⁷ *Second voyage littéraire*, ed. by Martène and Durand, p. 301: 'Elle soulage les religieux du chant, mais elle n'inspire pas la dévotion comme un plainchant bien réglé.'

casualty of the violence and destruction of history, which must be taken into account as part of the fabric of medieval scholarship, the case of Echternach still causes particularly passionate reactions. This is, first, because the story of how the library of Echternach was dispersed after a distinguished and uninterrupted existence is well known, having taken place relatively recently, and not as a result of ancient or long-forgotten events. The loss, furthermore, involves issues of national patrimony and hegemonic cultural appropriation which remained unresolved, and which bring to mind many contemporary parallels that are not discussed simply in learned circles, but are hotly debated in the press and are even pursued in the law courts.⁸

The abbey of Echternach was the most important medieval institution of the region (now the modern state of Luxembourg). The almost uninterrupted record of its history, from its founding in 698, puts it in an important position among the monastic houses of Europe in the early Middle Ages. This evidence of continuity is due in large part to its scriptorium and library, which produced a rich collection of manuscripts, both archival and literary, a testament not only to Echternach's history, but also to its prehistory, going back to the Insular roots of its founding community. Echternach also reproduced and preserved significant texts from classical, patristic, and medieval times.⁹ The majority of these manuscripts are now preserved in Paris, another significant group is in Luxembourg, and others are scattered among other libraries. The identification of Echternach manuscripts preserved in European libraries continues until the present day.

The abbey of Echternach was founded near the river Sauer (Sure), which today forms the border between Luxembourg and Germany, by the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord (658–739), first Bishop of Utrecht, known as 'the missionary to the Frisians'.¹⁰ Willibrord had been born in Northumbria and trained at Ripon under

⁸ The controversy pitting the Getty Museum and other American institutions against the Italian government's claims that several ancient works of art owned by the American museums were looted from archaeological sites and ought to be returned is only a recent example.

⁹ Ferrari characterizes Echternach's library as a 'biblioteca di conservazione' following Guglielmo Cavallo's typologies (*Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 7 and n. 3, with further bibliography). The continuity of the scriptorium and of the library is therefore particularly important as evidence of Echternach's culture because the abbey did not produce a continuous series of authors and texts, as did, for example, Monte Cassino.

¹⁰ A short survey of the history of Echternach to the modern period is found in 'Echternach', by Camille Wampach, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. by Alfred Baudrillart and others, 30 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912–), XIV (1960), cols 1365–75. Also useful as an introduction to more specialized topics in the abbey's history are the essays in *Die Abtei Echternach, 698–1998*, ed. by Michele Camillo Ferrari, Jean Schroeder, and Henri Trauffer, Publications

Bishop Wilfrid of York, but moved to Ireland's Rathmelsigi monastery¹¹ when he was twenty. Thence, around the year 690, he undertook a mission to Frisia with a group of followers. After his second trip to Rome in 695, when he received the pallium from Pope Sergius II and took the name Clement, Willibrord established Utrecht as his episcopal seat. Willibrord's missionary activities among the Frisians and in neighbouring regions had enjoyed the patronage of the Merovingian dynasty, and it was Irmina, the daughter of King Dagobert II, and Abbess of Oeren, who gave him the ancient villa of Echternach to establish a monastic community. The abbey became an important center for the evangelization of Austrasia and the spreading of written culture in this area. At his death, Willibrord was interred in the abbey's church, which became the centre for his cult.

Books associated with Echternach and Willibrord himself have survived from the time of the abbey's foundation.¹² The 'Calendar of St Willibrord' (BnF, MS lat. 10837, fols 34–41), perhaps the earliest datable manuscript produced at Echternach, written between 703 and 710 in an Insular semi-uncial hand, is believed to contain Willibrord's own handwriting in a marginal note.¹³ In addition, the Calendar has several other notes that testify to the monastery's early links to the Merovingians. Three of the battles fought by Charles Martel are recorded, as is his death.¹⁴ Another manuscript, already bound with the Calendar in medieval times (BnF, MS lat. 10837, fols 2–33), is a particularly important copy of the Hieronymian Martyrology, transmitting as it does English hagiographic traditions brought to the Continent. It was copied, probably at Echternach, by the Insular scribe

du Centre Luxembourgeois de Documentation et d'Études Médiévales, 15 (Luxembourg: Centre Luxembourgeois de Documentation et d'Études Médiévales, 1999).

¹¹ The site is identified by some as Mellifont in County Louth.

¹² There is no complete study of the scriptorium and books of Echternach. The best survey is Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*. See also the discussions of Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, and especially the technical discussion in Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509–16.

¹³ BnF, MS lat. 10837 (=CLA, v, 605 and 606). The marginal note on fol. 39^v written in 728, commemorating the anniversary of Willibrord's ordination, has been attributed to the hand of the saint by Martène and Durand, who are followed by some modern scholars. The Calendar has been published in facsimile in H. A. Wilson, *The Calendar of St Willibrord*, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications, 55 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1918). For a fuller discussion and bibliography of the manuscripts mentioned here, see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*.

¹⁴ Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'The Old Irish and Old English Glosses in Echternach Manuscripts (With an Appendix on Old Breton Glosses)', in *Die Abtei Echternach*, ed. by Ferrari, Schroeder, and Trauffer, pp. 85–101 (pp. 86–87).

Laurentius before 739.¹⁵ A third book, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9382 (= *CLA*, v, 577), contains texts of the Prophets, from Jeremiah to Malachias. It is written by the Insular scribe Virgilius, who signs it with his name in subscript verses. It contains Old Irish glosses scratched in dry point.¹⁶ All three of these early codices reached Paris under the same historical circumstances as those that brought our bifolium there at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fourth manuscript from Echternach's earliest period, a Gospel book known as the 'Maihinger Gospels', Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.2.4o2 (= *CLA*, VIII, 1215), was copied by the same scribe who wrote the Calendar. It contains dry-point glosses in Old English, contemporary with the early eighth-century text, and several glosses in Old High German from about the same date that reflect Luxembourg custom.¹⁷ The 'Echternach Gospels', BnF, MS lat. 9389 (= *CLA*, v, 579), either written at Echternach or brought there from Northumbria, served as model for several other Gospels written at Echternach and in its vicinity.¹⁸ Both of these Gospel books are of great importance for biblical scholars. Another extraordinary book that may have been acquired by Echternach by the eighth century is a sixth-century Italian copy of Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos*, written in semi-uncials, Paris BnF, MS lat. 9533 (= *CLA*, v, 587).¹⁹

¹⁵ The death and deposition of the saint in 739 are noted in the margin of fol. 28^r. Its textual evidence is included in the edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology by Louis Duchesne and Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *Martyrologium hieronymianum* (AASS, November, II, pars anterior (1894)). For the martyrology and the arguments that it was copied at Echternach, see Carmela Vircillo Franklin, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian: Hagiographic Translations and Transformations*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 147 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), pp. 213–14, and notes.

¹⁶ Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 11, 14, and Plate 3, which shows fol. 45^v with Virgilius's subscription.

¹⁷ Ó Cróinín, 'Old Irish and Old English Glosses', p. 87; Rosamond McKitterick, 'Le Scriptorium d'Echternach aux huitième et neuvième siècles', in *L'Évangélisation des régions entre Meuse et Moselle et la fondation de l'abbaye d'Echternach (V^e–IX^e siècles): actes des 10^es journées lotharingiennes, 28–30 octobre 1998*, ed. by M. Polfer, special issue, *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 117 (2000), 499–522 (p. 503).

¹⁸ It was also brought to Paris. For the Echternach Gospels, see most recently *1789: le patrimoine libéré. 200 trésors entrés à la Bibliothèque nationale de 1789 à 1799. 6 juin–10 septembre 1989*, ed. by M. P. Lafitte and O. Gantier (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989), pp. 158–59 (note the title of the book, which is meant to convey no irony).

¹⁹ Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach*, Cambridge Studies in Paleography and Codicology (New York:

As my remarks above suggest, scholars debate whether most of the books with an early association to Echternach were copied at the abbey, in a scriptorium established by Willibrord, who would be credited with the installation of Insular and Continental scribes and artists to manufacture the books he needed for his missionary activities as well as deluxe volumes. Others believe that the books themselves were brought to Echternach and question the creation of a fully fledged scriptorium by Echternach's founder. Also, and more hotly debated, is whether Echternach's early scriptorium owed more to Irish or Northumbrian influence.²⁰ These questions may never be satisfactorily answered. But the association of so many surviving books with early Echternach illustrates the abbey's incontrovertible links to other nearby institutions and to Insular centres in the eighth and early ninth centuries. They confirm the abbey's seminal role in the establishment of written culture in Lotharinga, in the region of the Meuse and Moselle. Similar conclusions are drawn from the large presence of vernacular glosses in early Echternach books (some of which are mentioned above). The abbey's manuscripts preserve some of the oldest glosses in Old Irish and Old High German, and indeed the oldest original glosses in Old Irish. The abbey has justly been called the writing cradle of these vernacular languages on the Continent.²¹

Under the early Carolingians, the abbey of Echternach was the recipient of royal munificence and patronage and its library was enriched. Numerous books from this period have been associated with Echternach, and they manifest the abbey's continuing links to other areas.²² Under the abbacy of the Anglo-Saxon

Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 119–20, had made this suggestion, followed by McKitterick, 'Le Scriptorium d'Echternach', p. 508. This thesis can now be confirmed, since the manuscript can be identified as no. 49 in Maugérard's list, which I discuss in the next chapter.

²⁰ For the early Echternach's scriptorium and its activities, see Nancy Netzer, 'The Early Scriptorium at Echternach', in *Willibrord, Apostel der Niederlande*, ed. by Kiesel and Schroeder, pp. 127–34, which also summarizes the debate about Irish and Northumbrian influence on the scriptorium. For the view that Echternach's early scriptorium maintained a 'staunch Northumbrian character', see, for example, Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. and ed. by Michael Gorman, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 18, 22. For a broader view of the scriptorium, which takes into account not only Echternach's Insular traditions but also the abbey's relationship to the local area, see McKitterick, 'Le Scriptorium d'Echternach', pp. 501–22.

²¹ Ó Cróinín, 'Old Irish and Old English Glosses'. For other early manuscripts and fragments from Echternach, see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 11–12 and notes.

²² Bernhard Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, III, 5–38 (esp. p. 7 and note); discussed in McKitterick, 'Le Scriptorium d'Echternach', pp. 509–10.

Beornrad (775–97), the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willihad copied in Insular script, among other texts, Paul's Epistles, a manuscript that perhaps survives.²³ This was the same Beornrad who asked his relative Alcuin of York to write a new *vita* of St Willibrord, the *opus geminatum* which became canonical.

Beginning with the abbacy of Hetti (827–38), who was also Bishop of Trier (816–47), Echternach's links to the neighbouring episcopal city and the local region intensified. The advances made by Carolingian script standards and their influence on Echternach's scriptorium can be seen in the 'mixed style' employed by Echternach scribes as, for example, in the copy of Alcuin's *Vita S. Willibrordi* surviving from the early ninth century.²⁴ Important witnesses include both books produced by the scriptorium²⁵ or imported from neighbouring territories.²⁶ Echternach's historical Insular traditions are reflected in the books that survive from this period, both in their physical characteristics, as we have seen, and also in their contents. The Sacramentary of Echternach, also in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 9433), written c. 895–900, is one of the first mixed sacramentaries. It incorporates materials from different liturgical traditions, demonstrating the abbey's ties to the British Isles as well as its adoption of Merovingian customs and Roman norms.²⁷ There is also

²³ Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 38, fols 173–239 (= *CLA*, VI, 750) or, in fragment, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9528, fols 1–2 (= *CLA*, V, 586). McKitterick, 'Le scriptorium d'Echternach', p. 508. The *Vita Willehadi* (= *BHL* 8898; ed. by Albert Poncelet, *AASS*, November, III (1910), 842–46), written between 838 and 847, notes the saint's extreme dedication to the copying of books while cloistered at Echternach, books which 'a successoribus ipsius ob monumentum sanctae recordationis eius servata hactenus manent inconvulsa' (ch. 7, p. 845) (remain preserved intact until today by his successors as a monument to his holy memory).

²⁴ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS HB XIV 1. For a colour illustration and bibliography, see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 18.

²⁵ For example, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9530, written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule (Jerome on Paul's Epistles).

²⁶ Such as Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9569; and an important medical manuscript from the middle of the ninth century, brought early on from Saint-Denis to Echternach, which no longer survives. For these, see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 18, 21.

²⁷ The Echternach Sacramentary uses three models, a Gregorian Sacramentary, an eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary, and an Old-Gelasian Sacramentary. Yitzhak Hen, 'The Early Liturgy of Echternach', in *Die Abtei Echternach*, ed. by Ferrari, Schroeder, and Trauffer, pp. 63–64; *The Sacramentary of Echternach* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 9433), ed. by Yitzhak Hen, Henry Bradshaw Society, 110 (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1997).

evidence that Echternach produced books for export during this period, a practice that would be even more significant in the eleventh century, as discussed below.²⁸

These are but a few examples of a large body of surviving manuscripts in use at Echternach during the ninth and early tenth centuries, a period of intense scribal activity throughout most of Europe. No complete picture of the abbey's Carolingian library and scriptorium has been produced by modern scholars, however, and Echternach remains generally excluded even from surveys of Carolingian book production.²⁹ A reason may well be the ongoing uncertainty that has surrounded the fate of its books.³⁰ Also uncertain are the effects on Echternach's library after the abbey came under the control of lay abbots in the latter part of the ninth century. One of these lay abbots was Carloman, the son of Charles the Bald, who held Echternach as well as several other monasteries. Echternach was thus no longer the recipient of royal patronage but a property to be given away.

The reform of the monastery in 973, by Sigefrithus I and Otto the Great, under the influence of Gorze, the Cluniac outpost in Lotharingia, resulted in the re-establishment of Echternach's scriptorium and the refurbishing of its library. Ravanger, monk of St Maximin monastery in neighbouring Trier, was sent as abbot to Echternach to restore monastic life and replace the secular canons who were inhabiting Willibrord's abbey. He was accompanied by forty monks, some of whom may have been trained as scribes, and may have brought books along with them, as the surviving manuscripts suggest. During Ravanger's abbacy (d. 1007), and in the following period, the scriptorium of Echternach underwent an intense period of book production, notable for its corpus of authorities on the trivium and the quadrivium.³¹ These included Roman authors (Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Persius, Juvenal, Terence, and Sallust), early Christian poets (Arator, Prudentius, and Sedulius), and other scholarly texts of the trivium and quadrivium, including music.³²

²⁸ Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 23, mentions a copy of Alcuin's *Life* of Willibrord penned at Echternach for St Maximin of Trier (now Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10865).

²⁹ Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 19, surveys the bibliography and calls Echternach 'terra incognita' in most discussions of Carolingian book production.

³⁰ There is no proper and comprehensive catalogue of the Echternach manuscripts at the BnF, for example, but only lists created early in the last century (see below). Falmagne's catalogue of the ones in Luxembourg's library is a great milestone.

³¹ For discussion of the scriptorium of this period, see especially Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509–16, and Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 24–29.

³² Such as a compendium of musical theory now found in Luxembourg's library, which I will discuss in Chapter 7 below. There also I will discuss the function of these manuscripts of classical

Just as important was the collection of patristic authorities, including Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, as is suggested by surviving volumes.³³ Throughout this period, the influence of Trier and of St Maximin is evident in the production of Echternach's scriptorium. A gradual (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10510) produced at the end of the eleventh century incorporates a splendid miniature (fol. 20) of St Willibrord attributed to Trier's Master of the Registrum Gregorii, the anonymous artist who decorated several liturgical books for Archbishop Egbert of Trier (977–93) and who was working in the Trier region, perhaps at St Maximin. The ties between Trier and Echternach are also revealed by one of the principal and most active copyists of books surviving from Echternach from this time, the so-called Master Scribe B.³⁴ He may have come to Echternach from the abbey of St Maximin in neighbouring Trier, perhaps as one of the forty monks who followed Abbot Ravanger.³⁵ Another remarkable scribe at Echternach's scriptorium at the end of the tenth century was the Anglo-Saxon Leofsinus, who sought refuge in Willibrord's abbey in 993, when he was expelled from Mettlach. One of the books that he copied for Echternach, an extant copy of Paschasius Radbertus's Eucharistic treatise, housed in Paris, is discussed below.³⁶

authors, heavily glossed, which some modern scholars see as 'schoolbooks' and others see as 'library books', meant for the solitary monk in his cell. The claim that these books reflected the educational programme of Gerbert of Aurillac, however, remains highly doubtful. See below.

³³ Among these is Gregory the Great's homilies on the Gospel, which I discuss below.

³⁴ See below, especially Chapters 5 and 7.

³⁵ Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 484, 510–11. Hoffmann discerns the strong influence of St Maximin's script on the hand of Master Scribe B, and on Echternach's scriptorium in general, so that any Echternach book datable to the second half of the tenth century could in fact have been brought from St Maximin, in his estimation. Hoffmann in general emphasizes the historical significance of St Maximin's scriptorium. It is at St Maximin, for instance, and not in the entourage of the influential reformer Archbishop Egbert of Trier, that Hoffmann locates the production of the important group of manuscripts attributed to the atelier of the Master of the Registrum Gregorii (ibid., pp. 444–54).

³⁶ Carl Nordenfalk, 'Abbas Leofsinus: Ein Beispiel englischen Einflusses in der ottonischen Kunst', *Acta Archaeologica*, 4 (1934), 49–83; Michael Hare, 'Abbot Leofsig of Mettlach: An English Monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 33 (2004), 109–44. See both Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 25, and Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509–16, for caution about some of the extravagant claims made about Leofsinus and his books. Also the claim that Leofsinus and Mettlach may have been the route through which the educational programme developed at Rheims by Gerbert of Aurillac was reflected in the copying of classical authors at Echternach's scriptorium at this time is highly doubtful, and is rightly questioned by Hare.

In the eleventh century, the scriptorium of Echternach was distinguished by its production of illustrated volumes. It supplied the imperial court with richly decorated and superbly written books, such as the Gospel books commissioned by Henry III.³⁷ One such Gospel, the Codex Aureus Epternacensis, written for Echternach's use between c. 1030 and 1050, was bound with a splendid cover produced at Trier between 985 and 991.³⁸ The creation of these books, especially under the abbacy of Humbertus (1028–51), who was allied with Trier's reforming bishop Poppo, has been connected with the ideals of the Reform Movement.³⁹

The abbacy of Humbert, who had been a monk of St Maximin, begins a second period of reforming activity at the abbey of Echternach. The church, which had been destroyed in a fire in 1016, was rebuilt, and great liturgical innovations followed, which were continued in the second half of the eleventh century and are reflected in the scriptorium's extensive activities.⁴⁰ A Sacramentary prepared under Abbot Humbertus preserves local Echternach liturgical particularities.⁴¹ Neumes were added to liturgical pieces and also to non-liturgical verse. Abbot Regimbert, although not an author, testified to the importance he placed on the copying of books by noting his patronage on seven impressive volumes that have survived. One of these (Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, MS 264) has been identified as an example of the large format, decorated Bibles ('giant Bibles') that became extremely popular throughout all of Europe in the period 1060–1160 and have been connected with the Reform Movement.⁴² The text has been

³⁷ One for Speyer, known as the Golden Gospel Book of Henry III (now El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, Cod. Vitras 17), and one for Goslar (now Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 93). On these and other lavish manuscripts, see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 33.

³⁸ Now Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 156142; published in facsimile in Rainer Kahsnitz and others, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach: Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift 156142 aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, 2 vols (Simbach am Inn: Müller und Schindler, 1982).

³⁹ Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 31–32.

⁴⁰ Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 37; Ferrari entitles this section of his book 'The Liturgical Workshop'.

⁴¹ Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Hs 1946. See Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 37.

⁴² The manuscript was bought by Luxembourg from Gotha's Herzogliche Bibliothek in 1951. See below for its removal from Echternach. Principal treatments of this important codex are Jean Leclercq, 'Un nouveau manuscrit d'Echternach à Luxembourg', *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), 219–25; Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 107–09; Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, pp. 33, 78–82; Blanche Weicherding-Goergen,

ornamented throughout with decorative initials in the stylistic tradition of the Codex Aureus. What is most remarkable about this pandect, insufficiently emphasized, however, is the fact that it is joined to an Office Lectionary. This book's format, a Bible-cum-lectionary, is extremely rare, if not unique. It is significant that the book was created at the same time that the two poems, 'Salve abba mitissime' and 'O sacra dies', were composed. For it is against this background of liturgical and bibliographic interests that, as we will see, these poems were written and neumed.

The actual output of the scriptorium during the abbacy of Regimbert's successor Thiofrid (1081–1110) remains uncertain, for no manuscript ascribed to Echternach has been dated unquestionably to this period, a consequence, perhaps, of the library's fragmentations.⁴³ Abbot Thiofrid's interest in books, however, as this study will further illustrate, is unambiguous.⁴⁴ The scriptorium's activities are better documented for the twelfth century as a whole, when the literary compositions of Thiofrid himself provided opportunities for the artists and scribes of Echternach to apply their skill. A spectacularly illustrated copy of Thiofrid's principal works survives today.⁴⁵ At the same time, attention was applied to liturgical, hagiographic, and historical compositions. Glosses and corrections in another copy of Thiofrid's works show how it was used for monastic reading;⁴⁶ others of his works were composed or adapted for liturgical use.⁴⁷ At the end of the twelfth

'Les Manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg: catalogue descriptif et critique', *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 83 (1968), p. 23. An additional illustration is reproduced in Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, colour Plate V. For a full description of its contents, see now Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, II, 326–75: Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 264. Comments on the clear hand of a scribe who worked on both Humbertus's Sacramentary and Regimbert's Pandect are found in Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 515.

⁴³ Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 58, suggests that BnF, MS lat. 10510 (a collection of liturgical songs) and Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, MS 9, could have been written during this period.

⁴⁴ See my discussion of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8915, in Chapter 5 below.

⁴⁵ Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 70.

⁴⁶ Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1378/103, from which the Gotha manuscript above was copied. Thiofrid's *Flores* had almost no circulation: besides the two manuscripts cited above, the *Flores* was copied in the third quarter of the twelfth century at the abbey of St Eucharius-Matthias in Trier in today's Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 10615–10729 (Michele Camillo Ferrari, 'Lemmata sanctorum: Thiofrid d'Echternach et le discours sur les reliques au XII^e siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 38 (1995), 215–25).

⁴⁷ Thiofrid's *Vita Willibrordi* was read on the feast commemorating Willibrord's ordination on 22 November, and Thiofrid wrote two sermons for liturgical use (*Thiofridi abbatis epternacensis*

century, the chronicler-scribe Theoderich compiled the most important historical record of the abbey, the so-called *Liber Aureus*, containing the community's cartulary — including a copy of Sigefrithus's charter — and other historical materials,⁴⁸ an indication of the abbey's renewed focus on its own history. The preface, which dedicates the work to Abbot Godefridus, states that Theoderich intended both to describe the events of the abbey's history from its founding up to the present and to consolidate the mass of documents witnessing to the gifts bestowed upon Willibrord and his successors by rulers and other benefactors.⁴⁹ The manuscript was illustrated with a series of pen drawings, perhaps by Theoderich, calling attention to the most important donations to the abbey, beginning with Irmina's original gift to Willibrord of the land on which to build his foundation.⁵⁰ Other surviving manuscripts demonstrate the continued activity of the scriptorium, although the material quality of the books declined.⁵¹

The scriptorium of Echternach continued its production well beyond the invention of printing,⁵² and the library of Echternach survived as part of an active

Sermones duo in die natali bb. Willibrordis et Wilgisli, ed. by Nikolaus van Werveke, *Organ des Vereins für Christliche Kunst in der Diözese Luxemburg*, 15 (1885), 73–87).

⁴⁸ Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 71, which includes both the cartulary and the twelfth-century Chronicle of Echternach by the monk Theoderich (*Chronicon epternacense*). A description of the manuscript is found in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.1, 67–110. See also Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, passim and Plate 28, showing the beginning of Theoderich's Chronicle.

⁴⁹ Preface II, Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 6: 'ut [...] varium eventum loci nostri describamus, et congeriem testamentorum de bonis quae [...] beato Willibrordo in vita sua et post eum successoribus suis usque ad nos collata sunt, ordinabiliter in unum libelli corpus redigamus' (so that [...] we might describe the varied history of our place, and we might redact in order and within one book the mass of bequests of goods that [...] have been conferred to St Willibrord during his lifetime, and to his successors after him until our own days). Theoderich, who had planned the entire volume, copied up to fol. 43, when another hand picks up and completes the volume to the end.

⁵⁰ Fol. 25, reproduced in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 48bis.

⁵¹ Three such illustrated manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg (MSS 47, 48, and 139). There is no evidence that the work of illuminators continued beyond the thirteenth century. Weicherding-Goergen, 'Les Manuscrits à peinture', p. 23.

⁵² Ferrari's survey of the scriptorium (*Sancti Willibrordi*) begins with Willibrord and ends with Abbot Johann Bertels (1594–1607), a prolific writer and copyist, who compiled an illustrated register of the abbey's possessions (see Ferrari's Plate 32), and whose many works include a history of Luxembourg (*Historia luxemburgensis*, first published in Cologne in 1605), which testifies to 'the awakening national feeling of a land, to whose culture the monastery of Echternach has contributed significantly with rare continuity over the course of centuries' (Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 84).

monastic community into the modern age virtually intact,⁵³ until the French Revolution and Napoleon's military conquests. These events led directly to the confiscation of the cultural property that had belonged to religious houses and noble institutions and to the appropriation of the most valuable foreign art in lands conquered by the French state. The results of these upheavals are best known today for their effects on the visual arts of sculpture and painting, associated with the images of widespread looting by Napoleon's army, especially in Italy. The arrival of the bronze horses of St Mark in Venice, which entered Paris on an open cart drawn by six horses, or the procession of statues and pictures (including the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Medici Venus*, the *Dying Gladiator*, and the *Laocoön*) brought to the Louvre from Rome were spectacularly memorialized by contemporaries.⁵⁴ The capture and dispersion of books and manuscripts were not as dramatic. Yet, the effect of these disruptions on the history of manuscripts, which were acquiring a new value as important cultural objects worthy of the attention of scholars and collectors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was more profound and more lasting.⁵⁵ Such books, which had been the preserve of religious institutions now secularized and disbanded, became part of an increasingly lucrative art market, or were taken over by the French state and deposited in the newly formed national library (formerly the king's library as the *Bibliothèque du Roi*) and in regional municipal libraries.⁵⁶

⁵³ Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, pp. 34–35, emphasizes that the library was not damaged during the religious conflicts of the sixteenth century and that it became a 'golden mine' when the study of medieval manuscripts began to flourish in the counter-Reformation, used extensively, for example, by the Bollandists. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, some of Echter-nach's precious books were acquired by German princes, including the Duke of Württemberg and the Grand Duke of Essen, in some cases through the involvement of Baron Adolf von Hüpsch, who was born in Luxembourg in 1730 (as Guillaume Adolphe Fiacre Honvlez), but whose career as an art collector and promoter took place primarily in Cologne (see below, note 59).

⁵⁴ Dorothy Mackay Quynn, 'The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars', *American Historical Review*, 50 (1945), 437–50.

⁵⁵ For the view that in the eighteenth century medieval manuscripts were seen as 'curiosities' because of a 'neoclassical taste that relegated medieval images to the realm of the barbaric', see Sandra Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction* (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art - Northwestern University, 2001), p. 27.

⁵⁶ The Commission of Monuments, set up in October 1790 to protect France's cultural monuments against vandalism and preserve all objects created before 1300, included four men who were librarians or book dealers. The Commission was responsible for the fivefold increase in the holdings of the national library, including fifteen thousand manuscripts. Specific instructions were sent out by the national library for desiderata, as well as for undesirable manuscripts to be shunned, such as ordinary copies of the Church Fathers and theologians (Hindman and others, *Manuscript*

This was also the case for Echternach's books. In August 1794, fearing the arrival of French troops, the prior (since 1789) Bernard Binsfeld,⁵⁷ the librarian Peter Constantin Keiffer (also spelled Käuffer), and several other monks had taken refuge in the monastery of Petersberg in Erfurt (diocese of Mainz), carrying some of the abbey's most valued books with them. Among these were the Codex Aureus Epternacensis, the Liber Aureus, Regimbert's Pandect, and the illustrated, deluxe copy of Thiofrid's works. These and other Echternach books came into the possession of Ernst II, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altemburg, most likely through a purchase arranged by Jean-Baptiste Maugérard (1735–1815), a fine connoisseur of rare books and manuscripts, who had been a monk of Saint-Arnould of Metz and librarian of the city's bishop and who took advantage of the breakup of monastic libraries to build a career in the traffic of their most precious codices.⁵⁸ Maugérard, who had already been of service to the Duke, had established his headquarters at Erfurt in 1792 and was there at the time of the arrival of the Echternach monks, some of whom he may have already known from a previous visit to their abbey.⁵⁹

Illumination, pp. 50–51; see below for Maugérard). The national library began to be enriched through war already in 1792 with the conquest of Belgium and the Rhine territories; 320 Oriental manuscripts were brought from Egypt between 1797 and 1800. Still the greatest loot would come from Italy. Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque nationale des origines à 1800* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1988), pp. 323–440, covers the Revolutionary period when the royal library was transformed into the BnF. See especially pp. 336–52, 426–29; Dominique Varry, 'Les Confiscations révolutionnaires', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. III: *Les Bibliothèques de la Révolution et du XIX. siècle: 1789–1914*, dir. by Dominique Varry (Paris: Promodis-Éditions du Cercle de la librairie, 1991), pp. 9–28. See also the exhibit catalogue, *1789: le patrimoine libéré*.

⁵⁷ For the correct and full version of his name (wrongly given in several publications), see the register 'Nomina, cognomina, parentes, aetas omnium patrum ac fratrum monasterii Divi Clementis Willibrordi Epternacensis', Luxembourg, Archives nationales de Luxembourg, A-XXIX-1239 (A-XXIX-31c), p. 75.

⁵⁸ In 1945 the Codex Aureus 'once more had to be hastily carried away, this time westwards, in order to escape falling into the hands of an approaching hostile army' (Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 35). The Codex Aureus is today Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs 156142; the Liber Aureus and Thiofrid's deluxe copy are Gotha, Memb. I 71 and I 70 respectively. The Pandect would be returned to Luxembourg, through purchase by Luxembourg's government in 1951. It is MS 264 in the national library. For a discussion of the sale to Duke Ernst II in which the librarian Keiffer plays an equivocal role, see Paul Spang, 'Entfremdung der Handschriften und Restitutionsversuche: Aus dem Schlusskapitel der Geschichte der Bibliothek der Abtei Echternach', *Hémecht: Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte*, 31 (1979), 439–49 (pp. 441–42).

⁵⁹ Much of Maugérard's extraordinary life remains uncharted. An important study of his activities in relation to Echternach is Jean-Claude Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce de ne pas dédaigner mon

The former Benedictine monk was instrumental in the fate of Echternach's library. Jean-Baptiste Maugérard was born in 1735, in a small town near Chaumont-en-Argonne in the department of the Meuse. At the age of sixteen, he joined the Benedictine abbey of Mouzon, in the Ardennes, and by 1758 he moved to the rich and ancient abbey of Saint-Arnould in Metz, where he took care of the books of his monastery, and served as librarian to the bishop. During these years, he made a series of trips to explore the library holdings of numerous monasteries, particularly in Germany, and may have visited Echternach as well. He was forced to leave his own monastery when he refused to sign the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He was destitute in Paris in January 1792, where he printed the sale catalogue of his personal library, which included 184 volumes, of which 157 were incunables, an indication of the already considerable extent of his shady activities. A substantial portion of his library was purchased by the BnF very cheaply. By then, Maugérard had developed cordial relations with the library's officers, who were intent on the creation of a great national library and who could see the advantages of a partnership with the former Benedictine bibliophile.⁶⁰

envoi": réquisitions de manuscrits et trafic d'incunables à Metz, à Luxembourg et au pays de Trèves par Jean-Baptiste Maugérard sous le Consulat', *Hémécht: Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte*, 52 (2000), 5–80. The date of his birth is given variously as 1735 and 1740 in 1789: *le patrimoine libéré*, pp. 86–87, 303. See *ibid.* for a discussion of his keen interest in incunables (most famously three Gutenberg Bibles from Metz, including the one dated to 1456), which he extracted from naïve librarians by offering more recent editions. A survey of the activities of Maugérard in relation to the libraries of Germany and in the area between the Rhine and the Meuse is given by Ludwig Traube and Rudolf Ehwald, 'Jean-Baptiste Maugérard: Ein Beitrag zur Bibliotheksgeschichte', in Ludwig Traube, *Palaeographische Forschungen*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, 23 (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1906), III, 301–87, which also contains much material on the earlier dispersal of Echternach books (as above, note 53). It was Traube who first reconstructed the sale of Echternach's books by Maugérard to the avid book collector Duke Ernst II of Gotha (*ibid.*, p. 327). J.-B. Buzy, *Dom Maugérard: histoire d'un bibliographe lorrain de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît, au XVIII^e siècle, suivie de l'histoire de la chapelle Sainte-Anne d'Argonne (Meuse)* (Châlons-sur-Marne: Imprimerie de T. Martin, 1882), contains some valuable factual information, but is largely an uncritical biography, written by a collateral descendant, which takes pride in Maugérard's knowledge of German libraries for it enriched the BnF. Maugérard's career is similar to that of the mysterious Abate Luigi Celotti (c. 1768–1846), a cleric turned art dealer who organized the first sale of single leaves and cuttings in London at Christie's on 26 May 1825 and 3 May 1826, procured mostly from the choir books of the papal chapel. Celotti also bought manuscripts in Venice and throughout Italy during the French occupation. See Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 53–59.

⁶⁰ Maugérard was responsible as well for orchestrating the seizure in 1802 of sixteen manuscripts from Metz Cathedral (whose collection he had catalogued in 1765), among which was the

When the abbey of Echternach was suppressed, the monks expelled, and their possessions confiscated in the autumn of 1796 after the French conquest of Luxembourg,⁶¹ the abbey church became a ceramics factory, while the abbey itself was used for the town's military garrison (Figures 3 and 4).⁶² The contents of their library were taken to Luxembourg-ville, where they were to form, along with the libraries of the Cistercian abbey of Orval⁶³ and others, the basis for Luxembourg's first public library, the direct ancestor of today's Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg.⁶⁴ The ultimate fate of the most desirable manuscripts, however, was decided by Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, who was working with the officers of the BnF.

When the Treaty of Luneville of 1801 gave France control of the territories west of the Rhine, Maugérard was appointed 'Commissaire du gouvernement pour la recherche des Sciences et Arts dans les quatre Départements de la rive gauche du Rhin'

sacramentary executed for Drogo, bishop of Metz and half-brother of Louis the Pious, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9428 (1789: *le patrimoine libéré*, pp. 152, 155–57).

⁶¹ The battle for Luxembourg took place from August until November of 1794. During this time, the monks had left the abbey (see above), which was pillaged by both French soldiers and local people. In June 1795, the monks returned and a great effort was made, including a house-to-house search, to find the books and other objects that had been taken from the abbey. The law of 1 September 1796 extended French laws of the nationalization of clerical property to the new 'Département des Forêts', today's Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg. These laws were immediately applied (1789: *le patrimoine libéré*, p. 159). The monks left the monastery on 1 January 1797 (Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", pp. 7–8). The most thorough account of the dispersal of the Echternach library during these upheavals is given by Adam Reiners, 'Les Manuscrits de l'ancienne abbaye d'Echternach conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut royal grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 40 (1889), 13–52.

⁶² In 1862 the church, which had collapsed, was bought back by the townspeople and restored, only to be destroyed again on 26 December 1944 by departing German soldiers. It was restored again in 1953. The abbey serves today as a high school.

⁶³ The abbey of Orval was founded in 1070, became a Cistercian house in 1130, and remained part of Trier's diocese until 1364. It was part of Luxembourg until 1839, when it was incorporated into Belgium. Its library was destroyed in 1793, when the convent was burned and pillaged, but many of its books and manuscripts had already been alienated, some given to the Maurists and Bollandists. Weicherding-Goergen, 'Les Manuscrits à peinture', pp. 20, 45.

⁶⁴ Its first librarian was Jean-Baptiste Halle, who compiled a catalogue of both printed books and manuscripts between September 1798 and September 1799, including 137 manuscripts from Echternach. Halle's work is Katalog C in Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, I, 270–86. This provides an invaluable record of what was in Luxembourg before the dispersions which would soon follow. At least twenty-one manuscripts were sold by the new library to raise capital during these early days (Weicherding-Goergen, 'Les Manuscrits à peinture', p. 21).

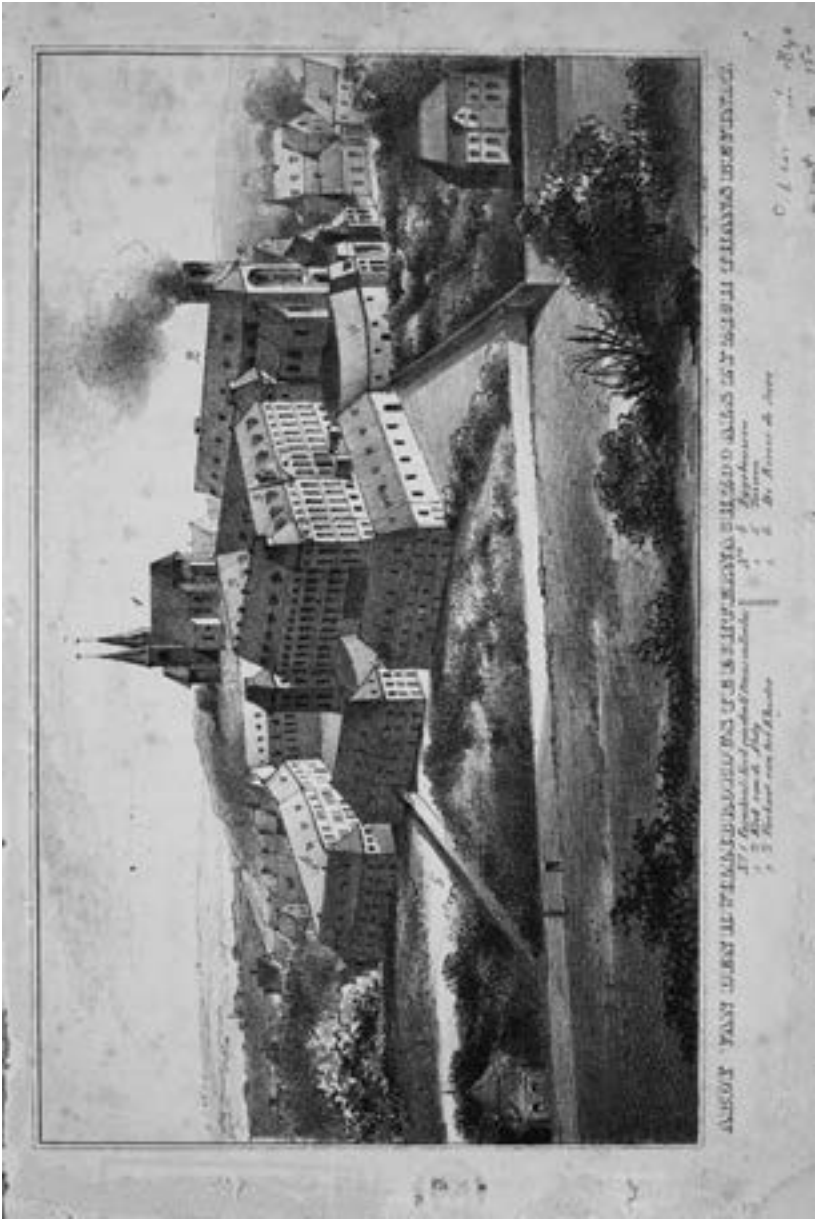


Figure 3. The Abbey of Echternach as a ceramics factory, c. 1840.
Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg. Reproduced with permission.

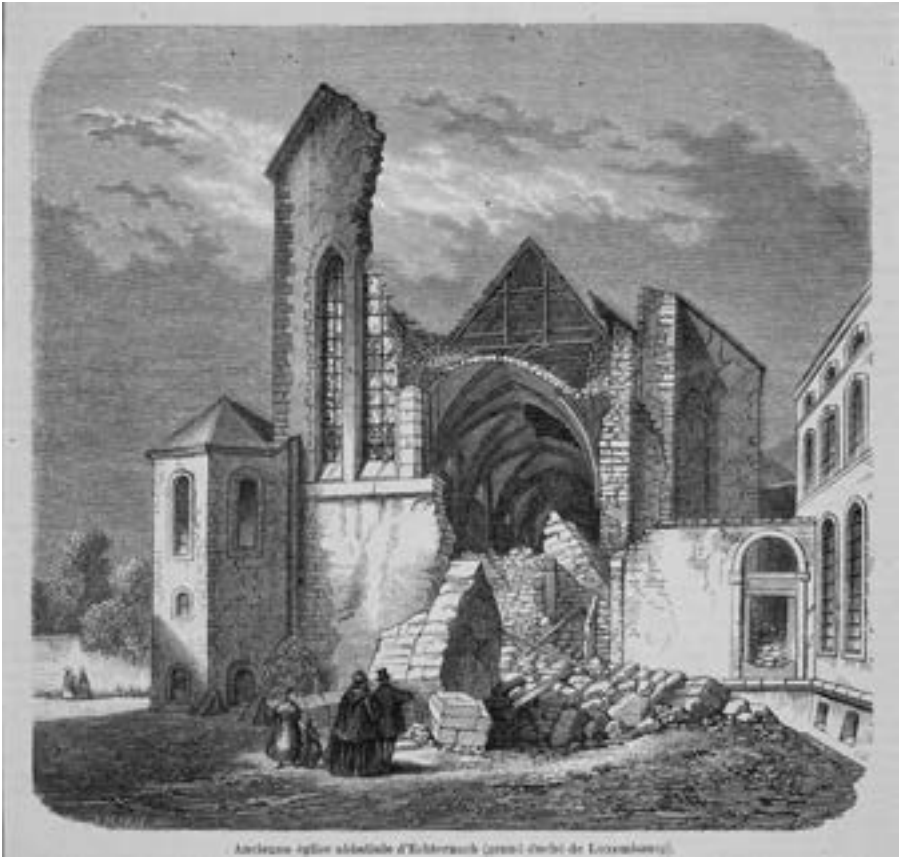


Figure 4. The ancient abbey church of Echternach. Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg. Reproduced with permission.

by Napoleon's Minister of the Interior, Jean-Antoine Chaptal, on the recommendation of the officials of the new BnF. Maugérard must have seemed the perfect candidate and to have the perfect qualifications.⁶⁵ The French officials who were

⁶⁵ But, in Traube's words, 'Man machte den Bock zum Gärtner' (Traube and Ehwald, 'Jean-Baptiste Maugérard', p. 316) (they made the goat into the gardener). Léopold V. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale [nationale]: étude sur la formation de ce dépôt comprenant les éléments d'une histoire de la calligraphie, de la miniature, de la reliure, et du commerce des livres à Paris avant l'invention de l'imprimerie*, 3 vols and an atlas (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1868–81), II, 35, either in ignorance or, more likely, disingenuously, dismisses Maugérard as a failure in fulfilling the high expectations placed upon him. Delisle's correspondence with Maugérard's biographer,

then expanding the national library knew him, for he had already supplied incunables for them, including some from his own collection, and had other business dealings with them. Chief among these men was Joseph Van Praët, who worked at the library from 1784 until his death in 1837 and is credited for enriching its collection both through his selections from the confiscated materials on deposit in Paris and Versailles and also from public sales during the revolutionary period and under the First Empire.⁶⁶ Just as important from Echternach's perspective was Maugérard's relationship with Jean Augustin Capperonnier (1746–1820), a scholar who edited the works of Vergil and who held the posts of 'Président du Conservatoire' (1796–98) and 'Administrateur' (1800–03) of the BnF.⁶⁷ Among the libraries Maugérard visited in his new capacity were Aachen, Trier, Koblenz, and Mainz.⁶⁸ Maugérard very likely had visited Echternach between 1758 and 1792 and had realized that the value of the collection was well beyond the Maurists' description. His encounter with the prior and some of the monks of Echternach

discussed in note 96 below, shows that he was aware of the former Benedictine's dealings. See further below. Maugérard's questionable activities must have been known when he was still alive: in 1807, the librarian of the Département of the Meuse at Verdun, also an ex-Benedictine, prevented him from entering his library (Buzy, *Dom Maugérard*, p. 124). Maugérard retired from his post in 1806.

⁶⁶ Maugérard's correspondence in 1802–03 with Joseph Van Praët documents the former Benedictine monk's desire to fulfil the expectations of the officials of the library, especially those of Van Praët himself, whom he knew since 1788, and whose scholarly interests centred on early printed books. Note, in this regard, Maugérard's hope in a letter to Van Praët that in Trier will be found 'some Zels and Mentelins that will please the Administrator [i.e. Capperonnier, as follows] and you'. The learned reference is to Ulrich Zell and Johannes Mentelin, publishers of the incunable era (Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 22; on pp. 21–35 are published thirteen of Maugérard's letters to Van Praët, in which many details about Maugérard's relationship to the library are revealed, including financial arrangements: Maugérard was paid 560 Francs per month, sixty of which were for travel expenses). Van Praët remained loyal to the library, navigating the accusations levelled against him as a foreigner (he was born in Belgium) and an aristocrat during the Terror, and he is credited with playing the leading role in the enhancement of the national library during the first third of the nineteenth century. Dominique Varry, 'Joseph Van Praët', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. III: *Les Bibliothèques de la Révolution*, dir. by Varry, pp. 301–03; Bette W. Oliver, 'Safeguarding the Nation's Past: Chamfort's Brief Career at the Bibliothèque Nationale', *Libraries & Culture*, 34 (1999), 373–79 (p. 375). For a list of officials of the BnF, see <<http://www.bnf.fr/pages/zNavigat/frame/connaitr.htm?ancrer=histoire.htm>> [accessed 18 February 2009].

⁶⁷ Much of Maugérard's extensive correspondence with these administrators is preserved in the Archives Modernes at the BnF, including the letters and lists I publish in the Appendix below from Carton 495 and Carton 497. There are several variant spellings of 'Capperonnier'.

⁶⁸ Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", pp. 18–35.

at Erfurt must have further whetted his appetite. Even though Echternach was not technically within the territory under his charge, it was in his official capacity as representative of the BnF and the French nation that Maugérard also surveyed the books and manuscripts brought to the city of Luxembourg and decided what to send to Paris.⁶⁹

Maugérard, accompanied by the other ‘Commissaire’, the Citizen Ortolany, who was in the employ of the BnF and acted as Maugérard’s assistant,⁷⁰ arrived in Luxembourg on or about 15 September 1802, armed with the prefect’s order that the librarian J.-B. Halle show them the volumes in his care. Soon after, a list of ‘Parchment manuscripts from Echternach found at Luxembourg’, copied in Ortolany’s hand,⁷¹ was sent to the Minister of the Interior Chaptal in Paris, to obtain the permission necessary for the expropriation of the books. This first list, in French, except for the authors and titles of the works, does not include all the manuscripts from Luxembourg that would be sent to Paris. It is meant, rather, to persuade the Minister and to show the good results of the mission of the two Commissaires, and especially Maugérard who was financed by Minister Chaptal himself. The list sent to Chaptal begins with the copy of Gregory of Tours and four other books from Echternach that the Maurists Martène and Durand had described as exceedingly valuable in the account of their second literary voyage.⁷² The five entries are

⁶⁹ Muller, “Faites-moi la grâce”, pp. 8–11. See p. 32 and note 59 above for his activities at Erfurt. In a letter written from Metz on 5 September 1802 and addressed to Van Praët, Maugérard describes his determination to go to Luxembourg to see the Echternach manuscripts. Since Echternach was not technically within the geographic area of his charge, at the suggestion of the prefect of Metz, Maugérard stated his intention to consult with the prefect of Luxembourg to get around this technicality (*ibid.*, p. 21).

⁷⁰ Letter of Capperonnier, dated 4 Nivôse an XI (25 December 1802), BnF, Archives Modernes, Carton 497: ‘Le cit.^{en} Ortolani que nous voyons de temps en temps est entièrement à vos ordres, quand vous le jugerez nécessaire auprès de vous’ (Citizen Ortolani whom we see from time to time is entirely at your orders, when you judge it necessary to have him at your side).

⁷¹ This list is published in the Appendix below, with a longer discussion. It is called the Paris copy of the Gregory list.

⁷² The manuscripts singled out by the two Maurists during their visit to the library of Echternach in January 1719 can be identified by Maugérard’s descriptions of their contents in this list and in the next to be discussed (the Vergil list). In both lists, there is a reference to the officers of the national library. In this list, 1. = BnF, MS lat. 9765: Gregory of Tours; 2. = BnF, MS lat. 10837: containing the so-called Willibrord’s Calendar; 3. = BnF, MS lat. 9389: the Echternach Gospels; 4. = BnF, MS lat. 9525: Jerome’s *Hebrew Questions* with illuminated initials; 5. = Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10443: Jerome, in Anglo-Saxon script. (See the Appendix for the concordance of the two lists,

bracketed together, and in the margin is written, ‘These manuscripts are those designated in the instructions of Citizen Caperonier’. Several particular details about the books show that Maugérard and Ortolany had examined the books and not taken the information from one of the catalogues of the Echternach manuscripts then in existence.

The Minister’s permission arrived on 29 September, but not before 12 October were the selected manuscripts carted to Paris, packed into two boxes. During this interval, the two Commissaires made a thorough examination of all the books brought to Luxembourg-ville, which were found scattered in several places in the city.⁷³ Maugérard ensured that the shipment to Paris included all significant manuscripts. The rest he left in Luxembourg.⁷⁴

As the end of the investigations by the two Commissaires, a new, more detailed descriptive list (called a ‘catalogue’ in Maugérard’s correspondence) of the eighty-four manuscripts, eighty-one from Echternach and three from Orval, chosen to be sent to Paris was compiled in two copies.⁷⁵ This ‘catalogue’ is what I call the Vergil list, of which two copies survive. The one that appears to be the original was written in Maugérard’s hand and was sent to Capperonnier separately from the books, to advise him of what to expect. The other, copied in Ortolany’s much larger hand

the Gregory list and the two copies of the Vergil list.) The accounts of Martène and Durand clearly served as a checklist for the officers of the BnF, not only for Echternach but for other libraries as well.

⁷³ It is not clear when the books and manuscripts brought to Luxembourg-ville from various secularized religious institutions were gathered together in one location. The manuscripts from Echternach had been brought to Echternach’s ‘Refugium’ in the city of Luxembourg, which is at today’s Rue du marché-aux-herbes; similarly, those from Orval had been taken to that monastery’s establishment in the capital city. See Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, I, 77–228, for the various stages in the creation of the Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, as well as for details on the removal of the books.

⁷⁴ For example, the modest compendium of musical treatises discovered by Lochner (Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, MS 21, discussed in Chapter 7). One of the manuscripts sent to Paris is included among the two hundred ‘treasures’ acquired by the national library in the years immediately following the French Revolution, the so-called Gospels of Echternach (1789: *le patrimoine libéré*, Plate 96). See *Les Plus Beaux Manuscrits de l’abbaye d’Echternach conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. by Claudia Rabel and Eric Palazzo (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989).

⁷⁵ This material is more fully discussed in the Appendix to this chapter. Muller, “Faites-moi la grâce”, pp. 45–68, publishes what is clearly Ortolany’s copy of this list, but without any apparent knowledge of the original in Maugérard’s hand, nor of the earlier Gregory list. Muller also supplies the BnF classifications.

(except for the certification at the end, written out in Maugérard's hand), cuts out some of the details of Maugérard's version (even though it occupies sixteen pages versus Maugérard's ten pages) and was most likely sent as a packing list along with the books. Both copies are signed by both Maugérard and Ortolany, who certify in the concluding paragraph that they have taken the books according to the authority granted them by both the Minister of the Interior and the 'Conseiller de Préfecture' acting for the prefect, and that they have supervised the packing of the books in two boxes. There are also included in this final declaration instructions for the boxes' transportation to Metz (where the manuscripts were expected to arrive within three days), and thence to Paris, and for the payment of the transporter.

Maugérard's 'catalogue' may have used some of the information available in the list that was sent earlier to the Minister. But it is much longer, uses Latin exclusively, and changes the order of the books, most strikingly by beginning with Vergil and several classical authors. Its intended audience was Capperonnier and the national library. It was not only Vergil's primary position in the history of Latin literature which explains why he heads the list sent to Capperonnier; the arrangement of the list may be a tribute to Capperonnier the scholar and editor of Vergil and a response to his interests. The use of Latin and the full description of the manuscripts' contents (again in contrast to the list earlier sent to Minister Chaptal) may also derive from the correspondents' scholarly familiarity with the ancient language. This catalogue, as Maugérard calls it in his letters, might be seen as a bibliographic instrument and a means to instruct the librarians of the BnF on the nature of medieval manuscripts, with which they might not have as much experience as Maugérard, who had been involved in their acquisitions for decades. We know that the former Benedictine monk carried with him a palaeographic/diplomatic manual in six volumes 'so as to better indicate to Caperonnier' the style of writing of the manuscripts by comparing them to the plates in the volumes.⁷⁶ And indeed, Capperonnier's expressions of satisfaction at the materials he received from Luxembourg confirm that Maugérard's strategy had succeeded. In his letter to the Minister of the Interior of 11 December 1802, Capperonnier states that the books received from Luxembourg are valuable not only because of their antiquity and state of conservation, but also because they present 'several works of very important classical authors'. And in his own letter to Maugérard of 25 December, he further emphasizes the importance of the date of the classical authors' manuscripts — from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries — and declares that 'the Gospelbook

⁷⁶ Letter to Van Praët, 5 September 1802, in Muller "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 22.

which bears the date of the seventh century may be a unique monument'. This is the Echternach Gospels, considered one of the top treasures of the BnF.⁷⁷ These descriptive lists lift any doubts that may have existed about the identification of the Echternach and Orval manuscripts housed in the BnF, a task that has occupied many scholars over the years.

Maugérard and Ortolany also compiled, on 11 October 1802, the day before the boxes would be shipped to Paris, another list of the manuscripts scheduled to be taken away, in effect a receipt (and hence known as Maugérard's quittance) in which they declared to 'M. de Blochausen, *conseiller de préfecture*, that these 84 volumes are those which we have chosen both in the Library of the Department and in the attic above it; that we propose to have them boxed and sent immediately to Paris, according to the orders of the Minister of the Interior, of which I have given communication'. Contrary to the lists sent to Paris, this receipt or 'quittance' is almost pro-forma; it contains no descriptive details of any of the manuscripts but only, at most, author and title. As will be discussed further below, this list, which was the only one to remain in Luxembourg and would be published in 1846 by the librarian of the Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, was completely insufficient to identify the Luxembourg manuscripts from amongst the tens of thousands brought to Paris.⁷⁸ In exchange for the confiscated manuscripts, the Luxembourg library was promised a reimbursement in printed books.⁷⁹ Nothing, however, was ever given. On 12 October 1802, two boxes containing the eighty-one manuscripts from Echternach plus three from Orval were shipped to Paris.⁸⁰

The three lists prepared during the sojourn of the two commissaires in Luxembourg and the related correspondence help us to understand better the process by

⁷⁷ For these letters, see the Appendix, below.

⁷⁸ See below, note 93 and the Appendix.

⁷⁹ See the copy of Maugérard's letter of 8 October 1802 to the 'conseiller de préfecture' of Luxembourg, in which Maugérard states that 'des Livres en dédommagement des ouvrages que nous aurons retenus' (Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 36) (some books in indemnification for the works that we will have retained) will be given in exchange.

⁸⁰ The trip to Paris was not as quick or smooth as Maugérard had hoped. When he learned that the books had not yet arrived in Paris, he returned to Luxembourg from Trier on 6 November 1802, and thence to Metz to follow their path. He found them still with the printer Collignon to whom the driver had brought them as planned. The two boxes left Metz on 9 November (Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 25). They reached Capperonnier on 21 November, if by 'the 30th of last month' Capperonnier meant the month Brumaire, and 30 November 1802 if he meant November (Letter to the Minister of the Interior, dated 20 Frimaire an XI=11 December; Appendix, below).

which the BnF's collections were built up after the Revolution, and the attitudes and strategies of the figures who contributed to this important development. The books are described as 'having been found' in Luxembourg, as if they had been lost and now newly discovered and in need of the care and protection that could be provided by the national library, echoing the views of the French government itself about its foreordained duty to preserve and protect the cultural achievement of human civilization. In his letter of 25 December 1802 (4 Nivôse an. XI) mentioned above, Capperonnier exhorts Maugérard not to waste any time and hurry on to his next destination, Trier, where 150 boxes are full of books and documents waiting to be found. 'Je vous le répéterai, ne négligez aucun object soit qu'il se trouve sur velin, soit qu'il se trouve sur papier: originaux ou copies, tout est important dans la Bibliothèque Nationale. Prenez toute la latitude que vous croirez devoir être avantageuse' (I will repeat it: do not neglect any object either on vellum or on paper, original or copy, all is important in the National library. Take all the latitude that can be advantageous to you) is his advice to Maugérard. And indeed, Maugérard was eager to follow such encouragement.

Following the international agreement of 1815 that obliged France to return the cultural and artistic 'prises révolutionnaires' (revolutionary booty) to their original owners, many manuscripts were returned to their homes. The manuscripts of Echternach, however, could not be restored to their ancient location since there was no longer an abbey to receive them, but they were not returned to Luxembourg's new national library either. While manuscripts were returned to libraries in, for example, Belgium, Austria, and Italy, the uncertain political status of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg and its exclusion from the signing of the treaty of 20 November 1815 may have impeded the return of all its confiscated manuscripts.⁸¹

From 1809 up until World War II, official and unofficial requests were made for the return of the books brought to Paris from Luxembourg, but to no avail.⁸² They became buried in the vast and growing collection of the new national library.

⁸¹ It was not clear whether Luxembourg was an independent country or a province of Holland. Reiners, 'Les Manuscrits', pp. 20–21.

⁸² In 1809 the state council (Stadtrat) of Luxembourg made a formal request to Paris for the return of the books taken by 'einem gewissen Herrn Maugérard'. Similar requests were made by Luxembourg officials, including librarians; I discuss some of these below. In WW II, a German commission in Paris planning the return of German artistic objects included also the manuscripts from Echternach and Orval. See Spang, 'Entfremdung', and the passionate discussion by Reiners, 'Les Manuscrits', pp. 20–21.

Their covers had been taken off upon arrival and replaced by new ones early in the nineteenth century.⁸³ The manuscripts' provenance was further obscured when their original and highly characteristic sixteenth-century ownership signatures were scraped off to erase any obvious connection to Echternach. Ownership signatures, added to the books at Echternach's library between 1499 and 1526, consist of the words 'codex s. willibrordi epternacensis', 'codex cenobii in epternaco', or a similar phrase followed by a formula describing the contents, beginning with the words 'It contains ...' ('continet ...'), and a majuscule letter followed by an Arabic numeral. The capital letters reflected the shelf arrangement according to subject.⁸⁴ Only the provenance, not the rest of the formula, was erased.⁸⁵ The intention behind these acts was clearly to erase any obvious links between the collection of the BnF and Echternach. The 'innocent' contents ('continet ...') were not erased, one must suppose, because of their usefulness at a time when the manuscripts had not been

⁸³ Books from other institutions were similarly rebound. It seems likely that the covers were torn off in the library, not in a binder's workshop. See note 126 below.

⁸⁴ Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 228. The scholar who first discovered the significance of the formula was the Belgian Paul Libaert, honorary 'scriptor' at the Vatican Library. He was expected to become a 'second Mabillon' but his work was interrupted by his death in 1915 and remained unpublished until recently ('Paul Liebaert (1883–1915): Notice sur 43 manuscrits d'Echternach conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', ed. by Jean-Claude Muller, *Hémécht: Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte*, 37 (1985), 53–73). It was Nordenfalk who first called attention to Liebaert's discovery contained in an unpublished manuscript that Nordenfalk was able to consult at the Vatican library. See Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 36; Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 41.

⁸⁵ A good example is the present BnF, MS lat. 9525 where on fol. 1^r there are two ownership signatures, one in the middle of the page and one in the right-side margin. Both signatures have been partially erased: 'Codex [erasure of 'monasterii sancti Willibrordi epternacensis' or a similar phrase] si quis abstulerit anathema sit' (A codex of the Monastery of St Willibrord of Echternach. If someone should take it away, may he be accursed). This is one of the manuscripts listed by Martène and Durand (Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 57; cf. *Second voyage littéraire*, ed. by Martène and Durand, p. 298). Muller states that the entire signature could be read under ultraviolet light, but I did not feel it necessary to use the harmful light to prove the point. In a few cases, the ownership mark was not scraped off, most likely because it was not noticed: e.g. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10864, fol. 1^r contains an erasure before 'Continet vitas sanctorum nonnullorum'. But on fol. 38^r of BnF, MS lat. 10864, we find 'Codex Sci Willibrordi epternacensis cenobij. Continet ...'. Most likely this other signature was not noticed, being on an internal page (and it seems to me that this codex may be composite). For additional examples, see Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", pp. 61, 62. The ownership signatures were scraped off in most of the Echternach manuscripts in the BnF, according to Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 39. See Figure 6 for the scraping of the signature in BnF, MS lat. 10195, which I discuss below.

systematically catalogued. In comparison, one must note that the signatures were not scraped off from the Echternach codices that remained in Luxembourg's library.

The defacement of the Echternach manuscripts took place most likely not upon their arrival in Paris, as was commonly assumed,⁸⁶ but, rather, long after that, as is indicated by some of the erasures themselves. In some cases, in fact, not only was the Echternach ownership mark scraped off, but also part of the red stamp or seal that was affixed to the Echternach books after they reached the Paris library.⁸⁷ It has been suggested by Muller that this action took place in the 1860s, when the first inventories of the manuscripts held by the national library were published by Léopold Delisle, the principal scholar of medieval manuscripts in France during the second half of the nineteenth century. His career and scholarly achievements are inextricably linked to the national library, which he led from 1874 to 1905.⁸⁸ It was under Delisle's leadership that the great medieval collections of the BnF became a source of tremendous institutional, and even national, pride. However, the erasure of the seal along with the provenance indicates only that the provenance was obfuscated *after* the seal was stamped on the codices, not *when*.

There are various contexts that could provide a plausible dating for the defacement of the Echternach books at the French library. One possibility arises in 1815, the year of the treaty and its demands for restitution, when some of the librarians of the French library, chiefly Joseph Van Praët, made it a point of honour conveniently to forget the provenance of certain objects, or not to find them, or to replace them with inferior pieces, with the result that an underterminate number of pieces acquired by the library as war booty still remains there.⁸⁹ There is some

⁸⁶ Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 230, believed that the ownerships marks were scraped off when the books reached Paris in 1802.

⁸⁷ Muller points, for example, to such erasure on Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9560: 'preuve irrefutable que cet acte de vandalisme institutionnel est à dater plus tardivement que l'intégration [...] en 1802' (irrefutable proof that this act of institutional vandalism is to be dated later than the integration [...] in 1802). Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", pp. 56–66, where other examples are provided.

⁸⁸ Delisle joined the department of manuscripts in 1852, became Bibliothécaire in 1861, Conservateur in 1871, and head of the library (Administrateur général) in 1874: David Bates, 'Léopold Delisle', in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, ed. by Helen Damico and Joseph B. Zavadie, 3 vols (New York: Garland, 1995–2000), I, 101–13; Marcel Thomas, 'Léopold Delisle', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. III: *Les Bibliothèques de la Révolution*, dir. by Varry, pp. 352–53.

⁸⁹ Varry, 'Les Confiscations révolutionnaires', p. 18.

evidence to suggest that there had been expectations or even plans that the Echternach books would be returned.⁹⁰

Another possibility for dating the defacement occurs in the 1860s. It is significant that the ownership marks of the manuscripts of Orval (*Aureavallis*), which were shipped from the Luxembourg library to Paris together with those from Echternach, as we saw above, were not effaced from the opening pages.⁹¹ This is clear proof that the erasure did not occur at the time of accession and as a matter of policy, and also suggests that Echternach's books were targeted. Also not unrelated to the treatment accorded to the Echternach manuscripts at the BnF may be the fact that in 1862 a formal, and well-documented, request for the return of the books of Echternach and Orval was made to France. It was initiated by the librarian-professor of the Royal Athaeneum of the Grand Duchy, Antoine Namur, and pursued through diplomatic channels.⁹² The official request from Luxembourg included as an appendix the 'Notice des Manuscrits qui se trouvaient déposés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, et qui ont été enlevés par les Commissaires délégués ad hoc par le Ministre de l'Intérieur de la République française. Le 19. vendémiaire an XI' (Descriptive list of manuscripts that were deposited at the National library of Luxembourg, and that have been carried away by the Commissioners appointed to this purpose by the Minister of the Interior of the French Republic. On the 19th vendémiaire Year XI [11 October 1802]). This was the receipt list (Maugérard's quittance), preserved in the Luxembourg library, which listed the manuscripts of Echternach and Orval requisitioned from the Luxembourg library by the envoys of the French state, Maugérard and Ortolany, and which is discussed above. This document was not unknown, for it had been published already in 1846 by Nicolas Clasen, the librarian of the Luxembourg library, in his catalogue of the books and manuscripts held by his institution.⁹³ The list, however, as stated above, supplies simply the author and title of the volumes, which

⁹⁰ This is suggested by a list of Echternach books copied in 1814, apparently in expectation that the books would be returned. See below.

⁹¹ See Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9422, fol. 1^r; Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9749, fol. 1^r; Paris, BnF, MS lat. 12457, fols 2^r and 3^r, all of which have the ownership mark 'Bibliotheca Aureavallis' (Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 67).

⁹² Spang, 'Entfremdung', pp. 445–46.

⁹³ Nicolas Clasen, *Catalogue des livres et des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg* (Luxembourg: Imprimerie de J. LaMort, Place D'Armes, 1846), pp. 511–14 (published also in modern times in Jul Christophory, 'Das Buch- und Bibliothekswesen in Luxemburg', *ABI-Technik*, 5 (1985), 145–52). See below, note 95, for another copy of the list, made in 1814.

would be insufficient in most cases, without additional, internal evidence, to identify which of the manuscripts in the vast collection of the Paris library had come from Echternach. For example, the fourth item in the list reads, ‘St Hieronymi liber hebraicarum quaestionum. 1 v. in-quarto’. The brief description provides no precise information to identify which of the many copies of Jerome’s work in the French library originated at Echternach. More detailed evidence, however, can be found in this manuscript’s original signature, ‘Codex Monasterii Sancti Willibrordi epternacensis. Si quis abstulerit anathema sit’. The phrase ‘Monasterii Sancti Willibrordi epternacensis’, however, has been scraped off.⁹⁴ One could thus believe that a scholar armed with this simple list and with access to the manuscripts at the BnF could have identified the volumes from Echternach held in the French library, before the erasure of the signatures.⁹⁵

The omission of the Echternach manuscripts in Léopold Delisle’s *Cabinet des manuscrits*, a history of the collection of medieval manuscripts at the BnF, is puzzling. It is difficult to believe that the national library and its great manuscript expert would not have been aware of Clasen’s catalogue, which contained the list of Echternach books taken by Maugérard, or of the official requests for return, and particularly that of Namur, which also supplied the book list.⁹⁶ We must also note that preserved in the BnF is a great deal of evidence of Maugérard’s activities in Luxembourg, including the three separate lists of books taken from Echternach

⁹⁴ This is BnF, MS lat. 9525. See above, note 85.

⁹⁵ A copy of this same list — made in 1814 in expectation of the repatriation of these books along with those taken from German lands at the time when Luxembourg’s status had not yet been decided — was found in the Düsseldorf Archives and published in 1921 by Hermann Degering, the director of the manuscript department of Berlin’s Staatsbibliothek (Hermann Degering, ‘Handschriften aus Echternach und Orval in Paris’, in *Aufsätze: Fritz Milkau gewidmet*, ed. by Georg Leyh (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1921), pp. 48–85; the list is published on pp. 71–83, in parallel with the version published by Clasen), in ‘an article written non sine ira et studio’ (Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 36). Degering was the first scholar to compare this list and Clasen’s identical list with published catalogues of the BnF manuscripts, and to identify about 80 per cent of the Echternach manuscripts in Paris. But he never examined the manuscripts themselves and made several mistakes (see Muller, “Faites-moi la grâce”, pp. 41–42; Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 36).

⁹⁶ In fairness to Delisle, one should point out that Adam Reiners in his 1889 publication ignores Clasen’s list. In Reiners’s defence, one can point out that his study was prepared when he was a student at the École des Chartes. See further below. Delisle was very much aware of Maugérard’s procurement of rare books and manuscripts for a number of clients, as his letters to Buzy attest (Buzy, *Dom Maugérard*, pp. 89, 121). Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis*, p. 35, suspected that Delisle ‘knew of quite a few more’ Echternach manuscripts in his library.

and Orval, which I discuss above and in the Appendix, and many letters. Also the efforts of the staff of the BnF at the time of or before Delisle's tenure to organize the manuscripts procured by Maugérard are documented in the Archives Modernes.⁹⁷ Finally, as discussed above, Delisle's correspondence with Maugérard's nephew shows his awareness of the former Benedictine monk's contributions to the BnF. One could argue that Delisle's silence in the face of this contrary evidence supports Muller's contention that the ownership marks were scraped off in the 1860s, when the library was beginning its publication of manuscript inventories, which would have made it easier for scholars to identify items on the book list in Luxembourg with manuscripts described fully in published catalogues.⁹⁸ Delisle does not include Luxembourg and Echternach in his *Cabinet* chapter that treats the manuscripts that arrived as a result of the Revolution and Napoleon's conquests through, in his words, 'a glaring abuse of force'.⁹⁹ Instead, the only discussion of the books of Echternach as such is found in Chapter 16, entitled 'Notes on Various Libraries of which some Debris are in the Department of Manuscripts'. Delisle covers Echternach in less than a page, stating simply that the Cabinets of manuscripts have 'recueilli' (collected) at various stages 'some debris' of the famous library of Echternach, and adding that many of these contain indications of copyists or those who commissioned the books. He gives the list of these manuscripts with their colophons. He includes only ten manuscripts that were explicitly

⁹⁷ For example, the manuscripts procured by Maugérard were organized into one list (as is shown by the addition of numbers to the manuscripts from Trier, beginning with no. 85, to follow the eighty-four from Luxembourg) and a concordance was created between Maugérard manuscripts (both Latin and French) and the Supplement (Latin and French), whose classification would be replaced in the 1860s.

⁹⁸ And indeed, it was Delisle's and other published catalogues which would allow Degering to identify about 80 per cent of Echternach's books at the BnF, as discussed in note 95 above. The awkward status of Echternach's manuscripts may also explain Gasnault's euphemistic 'mission' for Maugérard's activities: 'depuis la mission en Rhénanie, au début du XIX^e siècle, de l'ancien bénédictin Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, la Bibliothèque nationale conserve une bonne partie des manuscrits d'Echternach' (Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 53) (since the mission in the Rhine region, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by the former Benedictine Jean-Baptiste Maugérard, the National library preserves a good portion of the Echternach manuscripts).

⁹⁹ Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. II, Chapter X, and especially part VI: 'Manuscrits tirés des pays étrangers', pp. 33–36, which is a very short section. This section begins with the correct political statement: 'c'était là un criant abus de la force' (that was a glaring abuse of power). This section concludes with an account of the 'Restitution des manuscrits étrangers' (pp. 35–36) (Restitution of foreign manuscripts).

identifiable by scribal or dedicatory notes as products of Echternach. Clearly, Delisle was too much of a scholar not to realize that the provenance of these manuscripts could not be obfuscated, and he appreciated the historical value of these 'dated and datable' manuscripts. But nonetheless, Delisle, one of the founders of the modern science of manuscript classification and inventory, passed over the rest, including some of the greatest masterpieces held by the French library.¹⁰⁰ Delisle was a scholar, librarian, and administrator, and it is that combination of roles and conflicts of interests that may explain his stance.¹⁰¹

The concealment of the provenance of manuscripts through fraudulent means is not uncommon. A well-known case is that of the book dealer Guglielmo Libri, whose falsifying and interventions were well documented by Delisle himself in his attempts to reclaim for France the French manuscripts in the Ashburnham collection of the Laurentian library in Florence.¹⁰² Delisle shows brilliantly and in convincing detail how Libri, who had worked as general inspector of libraries under King Louis-Philippe (shades of Maugérard!), had dismembered and broken up manuscripts, scraped off old paginations to obscure such actions, and rebound the pieces to create new manuscripts, which he then enclosed into Italian bindings and on which he wrote fraudulent inscriptions suggesting Italian origins.¹⁰³

In his study of Libri's activities, Delisle exposed the concealment of the French provenance of many of the manuscripts not only for scholarly reasons, but also for nationalistic ones: he wanted to return to France some of its lost patrimony. In this

¹⁰⁰ Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 335–425: 'Notes sur diverses bibliothèques dont quelques débris sont au Département des Manuscrits'; Echternach is found at pp. 361–62.

¹⁰¹ Thomas, 'Léopold Delisle', p. 353, brings to the fore these three aspects of his personality.

¹⁰² Léopold V. Delisle, 'Notice sur des manuscrits du fonds Libri conservés à la Laurentienne, à Florence', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. XXXII, Première partie (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), pp. 3–14. The collection of the last Count of Ashburnham was bought by the British Museum and by others in 1883. The following year, the Italian government authorized the purchase of the Ashburnham's Libri group because it consisted by and large of books originating from or relating to Italy. The Italian government also pledged in the purchase agreement that it would not buy any manuscripts in the Libri collection claimed by France and that it would not impede that France regain possession of French materials. While Libri's questionable activities were already well known, Delisle showed how much greater was their extent.

¹⁰³ See Delisle, 'Notice sur des manuscrits du fonds Libri', and especially pp. 1–3, 26–27, 42, 57. Many of the books Delisle discusses came from France's public libraries. Delisle's study also illustrated the immense number of manuscripts available on the French market early in the nineteenth century and the lucrative nature of their trade.

aim, he was successful and the French manuscripts were repatriated.¹⁰⁴ The cover-up of the origins of Echternach's books possibly in the 1860s and the apparent participation of Delisle in the deliberate project of obfuscation of the provenance of the Echternach manuscripts in the French library stem from the same nationalistic impulses. The cover-up came from the desire to keep in France great masterpieces whose ownership was uncertain (given the precarious status of Luxembourg), and which might therefore end up in the possession of France's enemies. As noted, the political status of Luxembourg was a bone of contention between France and Prussia in the 1860s, the years leading up to the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). The Grand Duchy had existed as an independent country, but also as part of the Netherlands through personal union with its ruler since the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), when French domination had ended and Luxembourg was given to William I, prince of Orange-Nassau and king of the Netherlands. In addition, the Grand Duchy was also a member of the German Confederation, with a Prussian garrison housed in the capital city. When the German Confederation was dissolved in 1866, the agreement of William III of the Netherlands to sell the Grand Duchy to France's Napoleon III for the sum of five million florins almost led to war between France and Prussia, a war that would occur just a few years later.¹⁰⁵

The young Adam Reiners, the first Luxembourgish scholar to identify some of his country's masterpieces in the BnF, shrewdly compares his own efforts to secure the return of Echternach books to Luxembourg to those of Léopold Delisle in the Ashburnham case. Reiners was enflamed by the desire to illustrate the history of his country, whose documents he saw scattered in the libraries and archives of several nations. He was guided by Pope Leo XIII's encouragement of historical studies, especially palaeography, and undertook a survey of the manuscript collection at the national library while he was a student in Paris at the École des Chartes and at the École des hautes études.¹⁰⁶ In an article published in 1889, Adam Reiners added ten more manuscripts of Echternach origin to the ten identified by Delisle. Reiners's identifications were based solely on internal evidence;¹⁰⁷ he did

¹⁰⁴ The happy ending to this episode is told fully in Léopold V. Delisle, *Bibliothèque nationale: catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois* (Paris: Champion, 1888).

¹⁰⁵ 'Luxembourg', in *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2008, Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9108474>> [accessed 3 March 2008].

¹⁰⁶ Reiners, 'Les Manuscrits', pp. 13–14.

¹⁰⁷ For example, his identification of BnF, MS lat. 9528 (Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah) was based on the script's similarity 'with Anglo-Saxon script' and the inscription on fol. 201 which mentions Abbot Ravanger, whom Reiners identifies with the Abbot of Echternach ('Les Manuscrits', p. 33).

not know of Maugérard's receipt list in Clasen's catalogue or of the characteristic shelf-mark of Echternach manuscripts, which would be first identified by the Belgian Paul Libaert.¹⁰⁸ Just as Delisle had asked Lord Ashburnham 'not to associate the British nation to the most shameful acts of vandalism by incorporating into its collections' the French materials appropriated and camouflaged by Libri, so also the young Luxembourgish scholar demanded the same treatment for his country by quoting back the French scholar's own words to England: 'Give back to France documents which are the honour of our libraries and which represent their glory in the eyes of the learned world.'¹⁰⁹

The Creation of a New Codex (BnF, lat. 9488), and the Restoration of the Old (BnF, lat. 10195)

When the manuscript which contained the bifolium arrived in Paris, along with the others dispatched from Luxembourg by Maugérard in October 1802, its Echternach cover was removed and replaced by a new one.¹¹⁰ The parchment bifolium that had been part of the binding since about the year 1000 was not discarded. Rather, it was stored until it was sent in a bundle of similar fragments to the bindery on 17 December 1817. These fragments, some mounted on strips of paper to make up a folio of the appropriate size, were bound together into a codex and returned to the library on 6 May 1818.¹¹¹ This codex, one of thirty-six similarly

¹⁰⁸ See above for the shelf-marks. On Liebaert, see note 84.

¹⁰⁹ Reiners, 'Les Manuscrits', p. 21: 'Les savants Luxembourgeois pourraient également dire avec M. Delisle "Je le conjurais de ne pas associer la nation anglaise aux plus honteux actes de vandalisme, en incorporant dans les collections du musée britannique beaucoup de prétendus manuscrits qui, en réalité sont des cahiers arrachés à nos plus vénérables et nos plus anciens manuscrits. Restituer à la France des documents qui sont l'honneur de nos bibliothèques et qui en font la gloire aux yeux du monde savant"' (The learned men of Luxembourg could similarly say with M. Delisle, 'I would implore you not to associate the English nation to the most shameful acts of vandalism, by incorporating into the collections of the British Museum many phony manuscripts that, in reality, are booklets extracted from our most venerated and ancient manuscripts').

¹¹⁰ See further below.

¹¹¹ The date and provenance are indicated on the front flyleaf of the new codex: 'fragmens [sic] de parchemins, tirés de la Couverture des manuscrits, Donnés à la reliure, Le 17 De[Oc?]^{brc} et rendus le 6 mai 1818' (Fragments of parchments extracted from the binding of manuscripts, sent to the bindery on 17 December and returned on 6 May 1818). It is not clear whether December or October is to be read. Both Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 54 n. 1, and Huglo, 'Les Fragments d'Echternach', p. 145, read October. I read December, as does the typed

factitious medieval codices that are part of the Latin manuscript collection of the national library,¹¹² was not given its final shelf number, lat. 9488, until 1863.¹¹³ It was included in Léopold Delisle's inventory of manuscripts with a brief description as 'Fragments de divers mss liturgiques, x-xvi s'.¹¹⁴ These words echo those stamped on a tag pasted onto the spine of the new codex, 'Fragmenta variorum codicum ad liturgiam spectantium' (Figure 5).¹¹⁵ Both Delisle's words and the descriptive tag suggest that those responsible for the arrangement of the new codex approached these fragments not as relics of the codices whose bindings had yielded them, but of those to which they had originally belonged. Delisle's dating of the fragments to the period from the tenth to the sixteenth century is puzzling since the most ancient of these parchment pieces originate from eighth-century books from Echternach, whose Insular script is easy to recognize. These constitute the oldest and perhaps most important cluster of fragments, relics of the English and Irish sources of the Echternach liturgy from the eighth century. Delisle's brief and general description disguised the importance of these fragments not only for the study of the liturgy, but also for the study of music and other fields.¹¹⁶ Many other fragments come from monasteries east of the Rhine; others from French houses, including some fragments salvaged from the bindings of the books of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which were brought to the library by the cartload in 1795.¹¹⁷

description of the manuscript provided to me by Mme Marie-Pierre Laffitte during my visit to the BnF in October 2003.

¹¹² For a complete list, see Huglo, 'Les Fragments d'Echternach', p. 144, n. 1.

¹¹³ It was Supplement latin 1893 before then.

¹¹⁴ Léopold V. Delisle, 'Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale sous les nos 8823–11503 du fonds latin', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 23 (1862), 469–512 (p. 472).

¹¹⁵ 'Fragments of various codices concerning the liturgy'. The grammar of the tag's words technically means that the codices are liturgical, not the fragments, but clearly Delisle intended to characterize the fragments themselves as also pertaining to the liturgy. Otherwise, Delisle would have had to know from which codices the fragments derive, and no such information was retained at the BnF (private communication by Mme Laffitte; see below, note 126). More conclusive is of course the identification of BnF, MS lat. 10195 — not a liturgical manuscript — as one of the sources of the fragments. A thorough description of the contents of BnF, MS lat. 9488 is found in Huglo, 'Les Fragments d'Echternach'.

¹¹⁶ These are the fragments now constituting fols 3–4, 5, 75–76: see Huglo, 'Les Fragments d'Echternach', pp. 145 and 148, which include further bibliography.

¹¹⁷ One of these provides a curious example of the fates of fragments. What was fol. 74 in BnF, MS lat. 9488 has been reunited with its ultimate source, and is now fol. 133b of Paris, BnF, MS lat. 12037, from which it must have been extracted while the book was still at Saint-Germain-des-Prés,

The incorporation of these recovered fragments into a re-created codex at the BnF is, in part, representative of the attitudes towards medieval manuscripts in the nineteenth century. These have been studied in particular by scholars of manuscript illuminations, but they affected all manuscripts, including those which would be of interest only to scholars.¹¹⁸ The newly created market for medieval manuscripts, especially those with rich illustrations, in the wake of the French Revolution, greatly increased their value as collectible objects and worthy to be exhibited by both institutions and individuals. At the same time, fragments came to be appreciated as valuable specimens of the art and style of a period or genre. The desire to restore and re-create fragments into whole objects that mimic or reproduce the format of their original source also emerged.¹¹⁹ The gathering and ordered arrangement of miniatures and decorated initials extracted or cut out from medieval manuscripts — bound into portfolios and albums, or exhibited as collages or as additional illustrations in extra-illustrated volumes, or framed as pictures on walls — transformed the medieval manuscripts from curiosities or objects of antiquarian interest into valuable collectibles that appealed to the new taste for medieval art among the public.

The breaking up of books and their reconstitution — deplorable to us now — did not cause quite the same degree of unease in the first half of the nineteenth

perhaps even in the Middle Ages. It is a narrow strip, c. 5 cm wide by 21 cm long, and one can well imagine from its current size that it was used in the spine of a book. The fragment was restored to MS lat. 12037 in 1971, when this manuscript and MS lat. 9488 were rebound, perhaps as a consequence of the identification of the fragment's source. There is no indication in MS lat. 12037 that this fragment was part of MS lat. 9488 for more than 150 years, nor that before the constitution of lat. 9488 it had been used in the binding of another, unidentified, book. But on the blank replacement folio that is now fol. 74 of lat. 9488 there is a note stating that the fragment which had been there has been brought back to its place, in lat. 12037. Nine thousand manuscripts collected by the Maurists were brought from Saint-Germain-des-Prés to the BnF (Balayé, *La Bibliothèque nationale*, pp. 415–17).

¹¹⁸ My comments on factitious codices are greatly helped by the discussion of miniature albums in Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination*, particularly Chapter 2: 'Specimens'. For the effects of the French Revolution on the appreciation of medieval manuscripts, see *ibid.*, *passim* and especially pp. 49–52. Also useful for nineteenth-century attitudes have been Michael Camille, 'The *Très Riches Heures*: An Illuminated Manuscript in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1990), 72–107; and Alan Noel Latimer Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

¹¹⁹ The first sale ever of single leaves and fragments was held at Christie's in London in 1825. See above, note 59. This event marked the official recognition of the artistic and commercial value of these fragmentary objects.



Figure 5. The original spine. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9488, fol. 81^r. Reproduced with permission.

century and was seen by some as the equivalent of Viollet-le-Duc's rebuilding of medieval monuments or constructing furniture from medieval fragments.¹²⁰ Some practitioners were moved by high-minded motives, most famously John Ruskin, whose 'cheerful dismemberment', aimed to provide examples of pure art to workingmen's clubs and young ladies' colleges, exemplifies the reformist aspect of nineteenth-century medievalism.¹²¹ The appreciation of the fragmentary extended to recovered pastedowns and other binder's waste. While in the sixteenth century, after the introduction of printing, thousands of cutout leaves, which no longer held any value, were used by book makers as binding support in their newly printed books, in the nineteenth century such manuscript fragments were actively recovered from old bindings, restored, preserved, and studied, a process that continues to the present age.¹²² It was as a result of such attitudes, reflecting both an appreciation of the scholarly value of the recovered manuscript fragment and a desire to restore these relics into a re-created medieval book, that the fragments recovered from bindings at the BnF were not thrown out, but were salvaged and reconstituted into whole books.¹²³

These factitious codices created in Paris are linked with a broader book-type, the 'factitious miscellany'. This format resulted from the incorporation of several

¹²⁰ Although such mutilations did not create the horror they would today, there is evidence that suggests criticism of the practice (*pace* Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 66–69). The practice of Pierre-Camille Le Moine, who cut up manuscripts at Toul to illustrate his history of script, was shocking to some contemporaries. See note 123 for Le Moine.

¹²¹ Munby, *Connoisseurs*, p. 160; Camille, 'The *Très Riches Heures*', p. 78.

¹²² See above, note 117, for the case of fol. 74 in our own BnF, MS lat. 9488. Neil R. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings, c. 1515–1620* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1954) is a model study of the modern recovery of binder's waste; see also Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 68–69 and nn. 75 and 76.

¹²³ The closest parallels to factitious codices at this time are the albums or scrap books of miniatures, such as the one compiled by James Dennistoun in the 1830s to illustrate the pre-history of Italian painting (Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 82, 86–89, and figure 38). Another inspiration was also the palaeographer's album from the earlier eighteenth century, such as the one produced by Pierre-Camille Le Moine (d. 1789) who used actual manuscript cuttings from Toul's cathedral to illustrate the history of script (Marvin L. Colker, 'A Paleographical Album of Pierre-Camille Le Moine', *Scriptorium*, 47 (1993), 56–60). Hindman and others, *Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 6–9, rightly points out the influence of the great Maurist Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) on Le Moine. The fifth book of *De re diplomatica*, on palaeography, is a 'kind of photoscrapbook or album'. As in similar eighteenth- and nineteenth-century printed palaeographic treatises, 'the samples of writings are extracted — cut off — from their sources with limited regard for their origin in a parent codex' (*ibid.*, p. 7 and figure 5).

manuscript units, frequently produced in different periods, into one body, a phenomenon that emerges in the second half of the sixteenth century when books began to be stored in a vertical position on library shelves. These modern factitious miscellanies were created by book collectors and librarians, sometimes on the basis of affinity of contents, sometimes of format, to prevent the theft and loss of independent booklets.¹²⁴ The difference, however, between the factitious miscellany and collections such as MS lat. 9488 is in the nature of the component parts, whole booklets in one case, fragments in the other.

The construction of the factitious codex lat. 9488 and its thirty-five companions at the BnF was carefully planned. The fragments recovered from bindings were collected over many years. MS lat. 9488, bound in 1817–18,¹²⁵ contains fragments from Saint-Germain-des-Prés whose library was brought to the national library in 1795, over twenty years earlier. The fragments gathered in MS lat. 9488 form an organic whole, for they all relate ‘ad liturgiam’, and provide specimens by which to enrich the scholarly pursuit of the medieval liturgy. As even the casual reader can see, the fragments belong together, all containing liturgical rubrics, musical notations, and red and blue initials, and all characterized by their spacious layout, which is typical of liturgical manuscripts. Our idiosyncratic bifolium was probably included in this collection because of the musical notes that crown the poems and their hymn-like appearance. Other factitious codices are similarly coherent.¹²⁶ In a way that recalls the original preservation of the bifolium in medieval Echternach, which we will examine in the next chapter, the creation of these new codices was not simply dictated by the practical necessities of storing the

¹²⁴ See Armando Petrucci, ‘Introduzione’, in *Il codice miscellaneo*, vol. II, ed. by Crisci and Pecere, pp. 3–13 (pp. 5–6), for a brief discussion of these and other kinds of ‘miscellaneous codices’, including some medieval examples.

¹²⁵ For its rebinding in 1971, see note 117 above, and the following note.

¹²⁶ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10399 also contains fragments grouped coherently according to contents, ‘Fragmenta variorum codd. ad theologiam et ad jus spectantium’. The absence of decoration (except for fol. 63), less formal script, and general layout also give an impression of coherence and planning. This codex, which has not been rebound in modern times as BnF, MS lat. 9488 was in 1971, confirms that the modern rebinding of 1971 attempts to duplicate the nineteenth-century creation: in MS lat. 10399 we see the original manner of mounting the fragments on paper so as to make a folio of regular size. Only the feel of the paper is different (thinner and crisp in MS lat. 10399). MS lat. 10399 contains at least one Echternach fragment, fols 42–43 (Gasnault, ‘Deux chartes de l’abbaye d’Echternach’, p. 54). Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10400 similarly collects fragments relating to ‘history, sciences and letters’ from the ninth to the fourteenth century (Delisle, ‘Inventaire’, p. 509).

fragmentary contents — they could have been kept in a box or inside a folder. Rather, the desire to reconstitute these scattered relics into ordered and cohesive medieval objects was just as significant. The spine of MS lat. 9488 is another manifestation of this desire: what was most visible as the codex sat on the library shelf was not a piece of contemporary cardboard, but parchment, itself a fragment, most likely recovered from the binding of a manuscript. When MS lat. 9488 was rebound in 1971, however, its nineteenth-century/medieval spine was removed and is now mounted on a paper page inside the codex, reflecting perhaps a greater and more modern preoccupation with codicological archaeology and historical preservation than with retaining the book of fragments complete, as a nineteenth-century artefact (Figure 5).¹²⁷

Despite their care in preserving the materials recovered from earlier bindings, the librarians of the BnF of the early nineteenth century did not retain any indication of the sources of these fragments. As I have discussed above, there is clear evidence to conclude that the removal of the old bindings was done at the library and not at the bindery. Most of the fragments recovered from the discarded bindings were scraps of older manuscripts, and the librarians were more interested in them as relics of lost sources. The codicological or material context in which they had been reused by medieval bookmakers was not of interest. Our fragment is not a relic of an older codex, but must have been so regarded. No record, therefore, was created to commit to memory the link between our bifolium, now in a new codex, and the codex that had been its container for over eight hundred years, and no hope of discovering its identity appeared possible.

Yet, incontrovertible evidence, provided by Maugérard himself, for the identification of the codex containing the bifolium existed in the BnF even before it travelled from Luxembourg to Paris. This evidence is contained already in the first list sent to the Minister of the Interior, who in turn, as we saw above, sent it to Capperonnier.¹²⁸ Furthermore, the same evidence is found in Maugérard's two longer catalogues, the two Vergil lists that the former Benedictine compiled for the eighty-four books he was shipping to Paris from the city of Luxembourg on 12 October 1802: the one sent to Capperonnier directly and the packing list that actually

¹²⁷ For the fragment that constituted fol. 74 of BnF, MS lat. 9488, which was removed during the 1971 rebinding and returned to its original source, now BnF, MS lat. 12037 (fol. 133bis), see above, note 117.

¹²⁸ This is the Paris Gregory list, published for the first time in the Appendix below.

accompanied the books.¹²⁹ These lists in Paris, as discussed above, are to be distinguished from the similar but much less detailed list that Maugérard had compiled as a receipt for the prefect's office and had left in Luxembourg. That list, which was published already in 1846 by the Luxembourg librarian Clasen, does not permit by itself the identification of the codex that contained our bifolium. But the description of item 59 in the first list (Gregory list sent to Paris) leaves no doubt:

59. Macrobius in Somnum Scipionis avec des figures colorées
Sallusti Bellum Catalinarium et Jugurthinum
Calcidius in Thimeum Platonis in fol. 10^e. Siècl. (on trouve à la fin du vol, Laudes in abbatem)
- [59. Macrobius on the Dream of Scipio with some coloured figures
Sallust's Catilinarian and Jugurthinian War
Calcidius on the Timaeus of Plato in fol. 10th century (one finds at the end of the volume Praises for an Abbot)]

Maugérard's description of the book numbered item 4 in the shipment list and in the copy sent to Capperonnier confirms that the book actually arrived in Paris:¹³⁰

- 4°. Codex Membranaceus In fol saeculo decimo scriptus, ex omni parte sanus et integer continet
- 1°. Macrobius Theodosius in Somnium Scipionis, quam plurimis figuris coloratis ornatum.
 - 2°. Sallustii Catilinarium eodem calamo scriptum ac Macrobius cui adhaeret.
 - 3°. Ejusdem Jugurthinum eadem pariter manu scriptum ac Catilinarium cui adhaeret.
 - 4°. Calcidium in Timeum Platonis
 - 5°. ad Calcem Libri habentur laudes alicujus abbatis de Epternach per quemdam hujus abbatae Professum.
- [4. Parchment codex in fol. written in the tenth century, whole and undamaged in every part, it contains
1. Macrobius Theodosius on the Dream of Scipio decorated with numerous colour illustrations
 2. Sallust's Catilinarian written by the same pen as the Macrobius to which it is attached

¹²⁹ Also published in the Appendix below.

¹³⁰ The description of BnF, MS lat. 10195, which is item 59, in the less detailed receipt list left in Luxembourg, on the other hand, does not include the poem ('Macrobius, in somnium Scipionis. — Sallustius de conjuratione Catilinae et bello Jugurthino. Calcidius in Timaeum Platonis. 1 vol. in fol.': Degering, 'Handschriften aus Echternach und Orval in Paris', p. 78, where the identification with MS lat. 10195 is made).

3. the *Iugurtha* by the same, written by the same hand as the *Catilinarian* to which it is attached
4. Calcidius on the *Timaeus* of Plato
5. at the end of the Book there are the praises of a certain abbot of Echternach by a monk of this abbey.]

The last item (5) is a more thorough description of ‘*Salve abba mitissime*’ than the description of the same book (59) in the earlier list, but the description of the manuscript in both lists fits perfectly BnF, MS lat. 10195,¹³¹ a manuscript that contains exactly the classical texts of the liberal arts listed by Maugérard: Macrobius’s Commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis*, Sallust’s *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, and Calcidius’s Commentary on Plato’s *Timaeus*.¹³² This manuscript has long been identified as among those that came from Echternach to Paris through Maugérard’s activities;¹³³ it still bears evidence of its origins;¹³⁴ and it was still in Echternach in the eighteenth century (Figure 6).¹³⁵ MS lat. 10195 was rebound when it reached the BnF, and it retains its early nineteenth-century binding, brown leather with a gold border, common to other manuscripts accessioned by the library at this time. It shows no evidence today of the charter that it enclosed for more than eight hundred years. The absence of any reference to ‘*O sacrata dies*’ in the two documents does not jeopardize this identification. Maugérard’s descriptions in his catalogue lists were not meant to include all the texts contained in flyleaves or paste-downs. He appears to have noted, rather, only the presence of such

¹³¹ BnF, MS lat. 10195 was given the shelf number 205A in the ‘Supplement latin’ of the BnF.

¹³² This codex is an important witness in the history of the texts it transmits, as well as for their medieval study. See Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 36, 71, and nn. 393 and 394. For a description, see Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, pp. 55–57 (but see below for my disagreement with Schroeder’s palaeographic conclusions about this manuscript); *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, ed. by Elias von Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, 5 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879–1922), IV, 597; Émile Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1884–1900), I, 14; Lochner, ‘La Culture musicale’, I, 44–55.

¹³³ It was not identified by Reiners, ‘Les Manuscrits’, in 1889; it was identified by Degering in 1921 (‘Handschriften aus Echternach und Orval in Paris’, p. 83).

¹³⁴ There is a scrape on fol. 1^r which must have obliterated the distinctive Echternach signature of the fifteenth/sixteenth century, followed by the characteristic ‘*Continet macrobium de somnio scipionis. Et Salustium de cathalinis et iugurtini* [*this second item added over the line*]. Et calcidium in thimeum platonis. Si quis illum a tulerit anatheomatis iaculo’. See Figure 6.

¹³⁵ It was included in the library’s catalogue that was compiled after the middle of the century: ‘*Macrobii Somnium Scipionis, Calcidius de timeo Latronis* [*sic*] et *Salustius*’ (Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 57); and in the 1798/99 catalogue (Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, I, 271).



Figure 6. The scrape to obscure provenance. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10195, fol. 1'. Reproduced with permission.

added sheets that seemed to him extraneous to the original codex for codicological reasons or added at a different time.¹³⁶ The intent behind the added detail concerning ‘Salve abba mitissime’ in the first list may have been to facilitate the identification of the books at time of removal, and, for the second list, to help the identification by the recipients and to avoid substitution in transit, perhaps, since Maugérard was shipping the most valuable pieces of the Echternach collection.¹³⁷ In addition, as discussed above, he saw the longer lists sent to Paris as useful bibliographic aids for his colleagues at the BnF. Towards this purpose he made use of a palaeographic manual, which he carried with him, as discussed above. His characterization of Macrobius as ‘quam plurimis figuris ornatum’ is accurate enough, for the manuscript indeed has many illustrations. Many of these are drawn in red ink, such as a zodiacal circle on fol. 23^v and a multi-coloured circle of the world, with the top in black, the middle in red, and the bottom in black, on fol. 30^r. But he was not correct in his statement that the same hand wrote items 1–3 in MS lat. 10195, as I will argue below. The hands that copied these texts are quite similar, and we can well understand that this mistake sprang from haste as well as misjudgement.

Both the dating and the size of MS lat. 10195 and of the charter double-folio are congruent with their former common binding. The charter as it is today would have provided a flyleaf one centimetre smaller all around than MS lat. 10195. We must assume, however, that the charter was trimmed when it was bound into MS lat. 9488 to even it out,¹³⁸ and we know that MS lat. 10195 itself was trimmed when it was rebound in the nineteenth century, as is still current practice in the rebinding of books.¹³⁹ Except for the new binding and the removal of the bifolium paste-down, the codex is whole.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Cf. his note on the handwriting (‘eodem calamo scriptum’).

¹³⁷ For example, Maugérard does not indicate any additions in his item 29 of the Vergil lists, which is to be identified with the current Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8922 and which contains numerous additions. All of these, however, have been made to folios that were part of the original codex. In some cases, Maugérard’s description of the paste-down does not allow identification of the codex (Muller, “Faites-moi la grâce”, p. 53).

¹³⁸ It would explain why the two leaves are even with each other today, despite the fact that one was glued onto the board of the codex and its sister was loose.

¹³⁹ The BnF Supplement latin shelf number was 205A, and part of the A has been trimmed.

¹⁴⁰ The manuscript comprises seventeen quires consisting of eight folios (four bifolia) and a last quire consisting of four folios (two bifolia). The tenth quire has two extra folios (fols 75–76, one bifolium) added between fols 74 and 77. This was done to complete the *Iugurtha*, whose ending was missing (fols 75^r, 75^v, 76^r, 76^v were left blank; Calcidius begins on fol. 77^r). These folios were inserted not long after the original codex was written, most likely by one of the glossators or a corrector.

The date of charter and codex is especially significant, for it allows us to establish that codex and charter are near contemporary. The close dating of MS lat. 10195 can be extracted through an examination of the hands that worked on the manuscript. One of these, which begins with Sallust's *Catilina* (fol. 43^{ra})¹⁴¹ and continues to the top (line 11) of fol. 60^{rb} (see Figures 13 and 14 in Chapter 3), also worked in Trier during the last third and at the end of the tenth century.¹⁴² This suggests that the charter of Sigefrithus, dated to the period 996–97, as will be discussed below, would have been bound into a manuscript of roughly contemporary production, a conclusion that has significant implications.

The identification of the current MS lat. 10195 as the codex which contained the bifolium is of great consequence, not only because it allows us to re-create the original medieval object, which no longer exists, and to map the alterations of its codicological and textual layers, but also because it allows us to read both the charter and the poems in their original material context. We can now examine the charter, the poems, and their glosses not as fragments, but as integral parts of a whole codex, whose physical characteristics we can now study and whose contents are as available to us as they were to those who pasted the charter into the cover, wrote and glossed the poems, and read them. The implications of these reconstructions for our understanding of the charter and the poems will be presented in the following chapters.

¹⁴¹ I return to this and other scribes of MS lat. 10195 more fully in Chapter 3.

¹⁴² He copied part of Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Mem. I 103, dated to the end of the tenth century, and part of Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1089/26, dated to the last third of the tenth century (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 477, 492).

Appendix

The Lists of the Manuscripts Taken from Luxembourg to Paris

Several lists of the manuscripts sent to Paris from Luxembourg are in existence. Their relationship to one another, however, has never been made clear. This Appendix publishes for the first time two lists compiled by Maugérard and Ortolany in 1802 during their stay in Luxembourg, with a synoptic concordance table. In addition, this Appendix provides a transcription of three letters, selected from the correspondence of Maugérard in the BnF, which contribute particularly to our understanding of his activities in relation to Echternach's books and to the compilation of the two lists. The two lists published here are, as I hope to show, the ultimate sources of all subsequent lists of Echternach books dispersed during the Napoleonic Wars. These documents also contribute to our knowledge of the activities of Maugérard as a scout on behalf of the BnF and offer important evidence for understanding the library's programme of acquisition during these formative years.

We can now divide all surviving lists of the Luxembourg books taken to Paris into two distinctive groups. The lists of one group begin with the *History of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours; they have shorter descriptions; Latin is used for authors and titles, but French is used generally for any additional information. There are six witnesses of this group, one in Paris, four in Luxembourg, and another in Düsseldorf. I call this group of lists the 'Gregory lists' for ease of reference. I refer to the second group as the 'Vergil lists' because its two witnesses, both of which are in Paris, begin with the works of the Roman author. The Vergil lists are more detailed than the Gregory lists and make use exclusively of Latin.

The group of Gregory lists is differentiated into two versions. The document now in Paris¹ is the unique witness of one version. It appears to be an original document, copied and signed by Ortolany;² its full text, never published or discussed, is given in this Appendix. Entitled 'Notice of the Manuscripts on Parchment found in Luxembourg which come from the Abbey of Epternach', it contains seventy-nine items, some of which are described in sufficient detail to allow

¹ BnF, Archives Modernes, Carton 495.

² The bases for the identification of the hands that wrote these lists are the original signatures of Maugérard and Ortolany as they appear in these documents and also Maugérard's numerous letters.

identification of the manuscripts now in the BnF, as, for example, the description of item no. 59, which describes BnF, MS lat. 10195.³

The other witnesses of the Gregory group differ most significantly from the Paris version in listing eighty-four items, the eighty-one manuscripts from Echternach and the three from Orval, taken from Luxembourg and brought to Paris.⁴ The original document from which the other copies ultimately appear to derive is preserved in the national archives of Luxembourg. The Luxembourg version, unlike the Paris document, limits the volumes' descriptions exclusively to author and/or title. This short version was first published by Clasen in 1846 from the copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg and republished by Hermann Degering in 1921.⁵ It has not seemed necessary to include it in this Appendix given, as we shall see below, its limited purpose. Its title reads: 'Notices des manuscrits qui se trouvaient déposés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg et qui ont été enlevés par les commissaires délégués par le Ministre de l'Intérieur de la République française pour être envoyés à Paris. Le 19 Vendém. an. XI. [=11 October 1802].' It concludes with the signed declaration by Maugérard and Ortolany to the 'conseiller de préfecture' that the eighty-four volumes have been selected both in the library of the 'département' and in the attic or loft above it, stating also their intention to have the books packed and shipped to Paris according to the orders of the Minister of the Interior as soon as possible. The Luxembourg version thus was clearly prepared as a statement of authorization and as a receipt, to leave in Luxembourg, for the books that were being removed. This list also may have been intended as the basis of the reimbursement or replacement for the confiscated books, as requested by the Luxembourg library.⁶

The contents and the order of the manuscripts in these two versions of the Gregory group suggest that the Paris version (published below) was done first. Its seventy-nine items represent in reality only seventy-seven works, for the two volumes of Gregory's *Moralia* (nos 20 and 21 in the list) are listed as two separate entries here but as one in the Luxembourg witnesses of the Gregory list, and one

³ It adds at the end 'One will find at the end of the volume "Laudes in abbatem."'

⁴ Luxembourg, Archives nationales de Luxembourg, B-70, no. 777. These lists representing the secondary version of the Gregory list are discussed, with full bibliography, in Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", p. 37, and now in Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, I, 98–101, where this version of the Gregory list is referred to as the 'Quittance Maugérard'.

⁵ See Chapter 2, note 93 for publication information.

⁶ See the letter of Prefect Blochausen to the librarian Halle dated 8 October 1802, quoted in Degering, 'Handschriften aus Echternach und Orval in Paris', pp. 56–57.

of Boethius's works ('in Periermenias Aristotelis') is included twice in the Paris witness (nos 74 and 77, for indeed they are two separate volumes) but only once in the Luxembourg versions.⁷ These entries in the Paris version then correspond exactly to the first seventy-seven works listed in the Luxembourg version, with some variation in order. Immediately after, and without indication of provenance, the Luxembourg version continues with the three manuscripts from Orval (listed thus as nos 78, 79, 80), and it then includes four more manuscripts from Echternach (listed as nos 81–84). Neither of these last groups of manuscripts (nos 78–84) is included in the Paris version. It seems more probable to suppose, then, that the compiler of Luxembourg's original list first copied the items from the Paris list (or a version of it now no longer extant), then added the Orval manuscripts, and then the last four manuscripts from Echternach which had not been included in the Paris list.⁸ He did not bother with copying the descriptions of the actual manuscripts as contained in the Paris version but was satisfied with indicating only the author and/or title. There was no need to describe or identify the manuscripts that were being confiscated, for the books were not expected ever to return to Luxembourg.

While the purpose of the Luxembourg group is self-evident, that of the Paris version is suggested by the correspondence of Maugérard and his colleagues in Paris. In the letter, published below, dated 26 Brumaire an. XI (17 November 1802) addressed to the Administrator of the National Library Capperonnier, the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Antoine Chaptal,⁹ refers to the 'notice des manuscrits sur vélin queles C[itoye]ns Maugerard et Ortolany ont trouvés à Luxembourg et que je les ai invités a vous adresser directement'. The Minister's words describing the list of manuscripts sent to him by Maugérard and Ortolany echo several of the very words in the title of the Paris witness of the Gregory group. The objective of the list, then, must have been to convince the Minister of the good results of the mission of the two Commissaires and to obtain the Minister's authorization for the removal of the books from Luxembourg, as the subscription in the Vergil lists discussed below reminds us was necessary. It is also significant that the copy sent to Paris is signed by Ortolany, who was a representative of the French

⁷ Luxembourg, Archives nationales, B-70, no. 777: '20. Sti Gregorii Moralia fol.' and '69. Boetius in Aristotelis librum Periermenias. 1 vol 4.' Cf Clasen, *Catalogue des livres*, pp. 511 and 513.

⁸ It is possible that these last items came from the Vergil lists discussed next, but there can be no doubt that the first part of the list, with Gregory at the beginning, is common to this group.

⁹ Jean-Antoine Chaptal (1756–1832), *Compte de Chanloup*, had been a chemist who developed new techniques for France's wine industry. He was Napoleon's Minister of the Interior from 7 November 1800 to 7 August 1804.

library, and that the list begins with the five books ‘designated by Citizen Caperonnier’, a point that might have carried particular weight with the Minister.¹⁰ This was after all Maugérard’s first formal mission as a representative of the French government, and he needed to prove what he was capable of. The longer descriptions of the manuscripts as compared to the versions left in Luxembourg also aim to point out the importance of the volumes, even though they were written in French for the benefit of an agricultural expert and not a scholar of the Classics.

The distinctiveness of some of the details also suggests that Ortolany examined the books himself,¹¹ as Maugérard would do in compiling the Vergil list discussed next. Many of the details in the descriptions emphasize the age and beauty of the manuscripts. Thus, for example, Ortolany remarked about the Paschasius Radbertus (no. 7) that ‘it would seem to me to be an autograph’. The detailed descriptions provided in this list are not contained in the catalogues of the Echternach manuscripts that would have been available to Maugérard and Ortolany¹² and support the view that, while the catalogues of the books and manuscripts available at Luxembourg might have been consulted by the two Commisaires, the selection of books was based on the examination of the books themselves. Since this Paris list does not contain all eighty-four manuscripts sent from Luxembourg, which are instead included in the second group of lists to be considered next (Vergil lists), we might reasonably conclude that this was a preliminary list, done in a hurry to send to the Minister and obtain his permission for the appropriation of the books. At a second stage, when Maugérard and Ortolany actually chose the books to send to Paris, they would make a more considered selection and made sure to include anything of real value.

¹⁰ These are the books highlighted by Martène and Durand, whose description must have been used by Capperonnier to identify the ‘must have’ volumes, as discussed above.

¹¹ Thus, the note about the faulty text of the *History of the Franks* of Gregory of Tours may have been in response to Capperonnier’s description, which might have indicated simply that the text had lacunae, but without specifying the details as provided by Martène and Durand. The lacunae noted in this list in fact do not match completely those in the *Second voyage*. Similarly, the detail about Willibrord’s Calendar (no. 2) is in response to the monastic travellers’ observation and may reflect the fact that both mentions of Willibrord are contained in the margin of the manuscript (see Chapter 2, notes 13 and 15). The reference to ‘Salve abba mitissime’ (no. 59) must have resulted from Ortolany’s own observation.

¹² See Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, I, 270–86, ‘Anhang 5. A’ for the Echternach Catalogues of 1756, or the eighteenth-century Catalogue (= Falmagne’s Katalog A), and for the one prepared in 1798/99 by the librarian Halle, after the books had been taken to the capital of Luxembourg (= Falmagne’s Katalog C), esp. p. 274 (no. 21) and note 683, which include no reference to ‘Salve abba mitissime’.

The two witnesses of the Vergil list published below¹³ had also a clear purpose, to communicate to the administrator of the BnF the number and nature of the manuscripts that Maugérard with the assistance of Ortolany was sending to Paris. Both witnesses include the same manuscripts (with one exception) but with slight variation in order, and both are in Latin, as mentioned above. One was closely written in Maugérard's hand, in a neat but small script, and it occupies ten pages. Its date, of '20 Vend. an. XI' (12 October 1802) by a different hand than Maugérard, most likely was added at the BnF.¹⁴ The other witness of the Vergil list, written in Ortolany's much larger script (except for the final statement, in Maugérard's hand), occupies sixteen pages. However, it is Maugérard's version that has a longer text, containing fuller descriptions of several items, including much historical and technical information, which reveals his interests and background as a former monk and bibliophile. In the description of Paschasius Radbertus's work on the Eucharist (no. 50), for example, Maugérard contradicts Protestant views that Paschasius was the author of the doctrine of the real presence by referring to the work's preface in which Paschasius credits the doctrine to the ancient Fathers. He also qualifies Ortolany's statement in the Gregory list that this manuscript is an autograph, allowing for the possibility that it may be a contemporary copy. In the description of the Antiphonary numbered 63, Maugérard notes that this volume would have been very useful to Abbot Martin Gerbert for his work on music. Martin Gerbert (1720–93), abbot of St Blasien in the Black Forest, was a famous liturgical scholar whom Maugérard may have known for he had travelled to various monastic libraries between 1759 and 1762, the years when Maugérard himself visited many libraries.¹⁵ In the description of the ancient copy of Gregory of Tours (no. 8), Maugérard makes an attempt to explain the lacunae in the text, which had been signalled by Capperonnier and listed by Ortolany in the earlier Gregory list,

¹³ A version of this list, based not on Maugérard's original, but on Ortolany's copy, most likely, and containing in addition several errors in transcription was published in Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", who also includes the modern classifications of the manuscripts. See Chapter 2, note 75.

¹⁴ The note in the top margin of the first page is written by the same hand that also wrote a long explanatory note in the margin of the list of manuscripts sent by Maugérard from Trier (BnF, Archives Modernes, Carton 497). It is not clear what source had provided the date, but it may have been Maugérard's letter which included this 'catalogue', as referred to in Maugérard's letter published below and dated 1 Brumaire an. XI (23 October 1802).

¹⁵ Another example of the compiler's scholarly attitude is the description of volume no. 2, noting that the passage about the death of Juvenal is missing in the 1739 edition of Juvenal's *Satires* 'tipis Barbou'.

but he refuses to give details because he does not have a complete copy as a *comparandum*. Ortolany, on the other hand, adds the details about the lacunary text just as he had done in his version of the Gregory list.

The observations above lead to the conclusion that the Vergil list was created by Maugérard and that Ortolany's copy was made (directly or indirectly) from Maugérard's. The absence of so many historical and other details from Ortolany's copy suggests that they were cut out by him rather than added by Maugérard as he copied from Ortolany's list. It is also difficult to imagine that the same person who wrote the descriptions in the Gregory list would have written such different ones in this list. This conclusion is further confirmed by a mistake in numbering that occurs in Ortolany's list and which can be better explained if we assume that Ortolany was copying Maugérard's list. When he copied no. 36 (Gregory's *Moralia*) at the bottom of his page 8, Ortolany began a new page and copied no. 38 (Gospel of John) from his model, skipping no. 37, the second volume of the *Moralia*. Such an eye-skip error at the end of a page can be easily imagined.¹⁶ He soon realized his mistake, however, and changed his 38 into 37, and continued in sequence, one number behind his model, catching up at no. 64, for his model had a no. 64 and a no. 64bis.¹⁷

The letters published below indicate that both Vergil lists were meant for the BnF. The copy in Maugérard's hand was most likely the 'Catalogue of what we have found in Luxembourg' referred to in Maugérard's letter to Capperonnier of 1 Brumaire an. XI (23 October 1802) as having been included in his previous letter to the administrator of the library. In his letter to Minister Chaptal of 20 Frimaire (11 December 1802), the librarian expresses particular delight in the presence of so many classical texts in the two cases of Luxembourg books, suggesting a possible reason for the order of the Vergil list. In his letter to Maugérard of 4 Nivôse an. XI (25 December 1802),¹⁸ the librarian discusses at much greater length the value of the Echternach books, like a scholar writing to another scholar, commenting on the antiquity of the manuscripts of the classical authors and remarking that 'the Evangeliary which carries a seventh-century date is an almost unique monument'.¹⁹

¹⁶ Or perhaps he thought that his model had copied the same volume twice, considering also that the Gregory list does not give separate numbers to the two volumes.

¹⁷ Another copying error by Ortolany is the mistaking of 'certè' (which makes sense) for 'certi' (which does not) in no. 49.

¹⁸ BnF, Archives Modernes, Carton 497.

¹⁹ This is item no. 43 in the Vergil list. Note, however, that Maugérard's description suggests a sixth-century date.

All this information came to Capperonnier from the Vergil list, which conveys extensive descriptions of the codices and includes the particular details singled out by the French librarian.

The other copy of the Vergil list, written in Ortolany's hand, must have been included in the books' shipment. Both copies in fact conclude with a formal statement concerning the materials being shipped and providing instructions for their travel and for the payment of the shipping expenses.

We can conclude then that the two Vergil lists still found today in the BnF's modern archives are the two lists sent by Maugérard and Ortolany to Capperonnier by two different routes, and that the Gregory list now in Paris was sent by the two Commissaires to the Minister of the Interior, who in turn sent it to Capperonnier. All three lists are written on the same paper, with the same watermark,²⁰ which is found also on the letters that Maugérard wrote from Luxembourg now preserved in the BnF's Archives Modernes.

About These Editions

The editions of the lists reflect as closely as possible the manuscripts, the unique Paris document in Ortolany's hand for the Gregory list, and the Paris document in ten pages in Maugérard's hand. Abbreviations have been expanded and indicated by square brackets, but no interventions to standardize or correct spelling and punctuation have been made. The notes in lowercase letters at the bottom of the page in both lists reflect corrections or additions in the manuscript itself in what appears to be the scribe's own hand, unless otherwise noted (hence, *corr. ex* indicates that the writer corrected the still legible original text); clearly later notes or markings have not been reported. The apparatus of the Vergil list also includes the variant readings of Ortolany's list of sixteen pages (=L), a list which was copied from the list in Maugérard's hand, as I argue above. As in the case of the lists, no editorial intervention was made to standardize or correct spelling or punctuation of the three letters published below, and no textual notes have been included to mark author's corrections in the text. The minimum explanatory footnotes have been added to the letters.

²⁰ This watermark represents a lion sitting on its haunches with its front paws raised and with the words 'PRO PATRIA ET LIBERTATE' written around the round outer edge.

10-page Vergil list	16-page Vergil list (L)	Gregory list
1	1	57
2	2	58
3	3	64
4	4	59
5	5	60
6	6	61
7	7	62
8	8	1
9	9	9
10	10	10
11	11	11
12	12	12
13	13	2
14	14	63
15	15	65
16	16	77
17	17	76
18	18	78
19	19	75
20	20	79
21	21	72
22	22	74
23	24	73
24	23	71
25	25	68
26	26	66
27	27	67
28	28	13
29	29	14
30	30	70
31	31	15
32	32	16
33	33	17
34	34	18
35	35	19
36	36	20
37	–	21
38	37	22
39	38	38
40	39	39
41	40	23
42	41	24
43	42	25
44	43	3

10-page Vergil list	16-page Vergil list (L)	Gregory list
45	44	4
46	45	5
47	46	26
48	47	6
49	48	8
50	49	7
51	50	27
52	51	28
53	52	29
54	53	30
55	54	31
56	55	32
57	56	33
58	57	34
59	58	35
60	59	36
61	60	37
62	61	40
63	62	41
64	63	42
64 bis	64	43
65	65	44
66	66	45
67	67	46
68	68	47
69	69	48
70	70	49
71	71	50
72	72	69
73	73	51
74	74	52
75	75	53
76	77	54
77	76	55
78	78	56
79	79	–
80	80	–
81	81	–
82	82	–
83	84	–
84	83	–

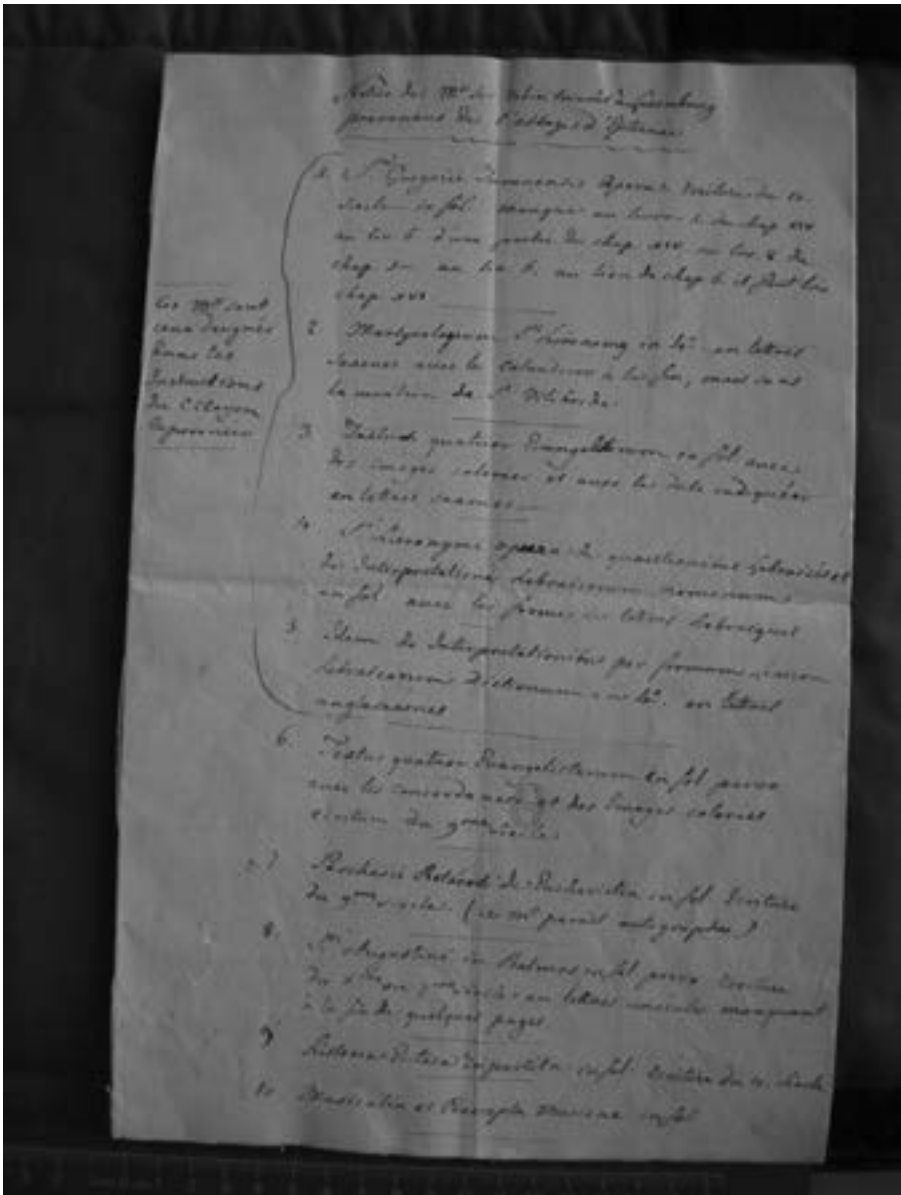


Figure 7. The Gregory list. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives Modernes, Carton 495, p. 1. Reproduced with permission.

The Gregory List (Paris, BnF, Archives Modernes, Carton 495)

[Page 1]

Notice des M[anu]s[crit]s Sur Velin trouvés à Luxembourg provenans de l'abbaye d'Epternac

1. Sa[ncti] Gregorii Turonensis Opera: Ecriture du 10. siecle. in fol. manque au livre 5. du chap. XIV. au liv. 6. d'une partie du chap XIV. au liv. 8. du chap. 1 – au liv. 6. au lieu de chap. 6 il faut lire chap. XVI.
2. Martyrologium S[anc]ti hieronymy in 4°. en lettres Saxones avec le calandrier à la fin; mais sans la mention de S[ain]t Viliborde
3. Textus^a quatuor Evangelistorum in fol. avec des images colorées et avec la date indiquée en lettres saxones.
4. S[anc]ti hieronymi opera^b de quaestionibus hebraicis et de Interpretatione hebraicorum nominum in fol. avec la forme de lettres hebraïques
5. Idem de Interpretationibus per formam Lexicon hebraicarum Dictionum en 4°. en lettres anglosaxones.^c
6. Textus quatuor Evangelistarum in fol. parvo avec les concordances des Images colorées ecriture du 9^{me}. siecle.
7. Paschasii Rotberti de Eucharistia in fol. Ecriture du 9^{me}. siecle. (ce m[anu]s[crit]s parait autographe.)
8. S[anc]ti Augustini in Psalmos in fol. parvo Ecriture du 6^{me}. siecle ou 7^{me}. siecle en lettres unciales. manquant à la fin de quelques pages.
9. historia Eccl[esi]a[sti]ca Tripartita in fol. ecriture du 10. Siecle
10. Musicalia et Praecepta Musicae in fol.

[Page 2]

11. Orosii contra Paganos et versus de Provinciis partium mundi in fol. écriture du 10. Siecle.
12. S[anc]ti Augustini Retractationes.
Gaesta S[anc]toru[m] Episcoporum sedis Trajecti Leodiensis historia Beate Mariae Magdalenae et S[anc]tae Marthae hospitae Christi

^a *corr. ex* Textum

^b *corr. ex* opus

^c *Nota referens primis quinque codicibus in margine sinistro:* Ces M[anu]s[crit]s sont ceux designés dans les Instructions du Citoyen Caperonier

- Passio S[anc]ti Sebastiani et aliquot aliorum S[anc]toru[m] in fol. parvo écriture du 12^{me}. Siecle.
13. Prophetæ et novum Testamentum in fol. écriture du 9^{me}. Siecle.
- 14°. Burchardi Wormatiensis Episcopi Canonum Collectio in fol. écriture de l'11^{me}. Siecle.
- 15°. S[anc]ti Hieronymi in Hieremiam Prophetam in fol. écriture du 10^e. Siecle.
- 16°. Vitæ S[anc]ti Martini S[anc]ti Mauri etc.
Dialogi S[anc]ti Gregorii homelieque Eusebii Cesariensis en fol. écriture de l'11. Siecle.
- 17°. S[anc]ti Augustini de Aeternitate
De variis quaestionibus
De utilitate credendi
De ratione Animæ
De Patientia
De doctrina christiana en fol. écriture du 10. Siecle
- 18°. Idem in Psalmos et S[anc]ti Gregorii Dialoghi in fol. écriture du 12^{me}. Siecle.
- 19°. S[anc]ti hieronymi in Ezaechielem Prophetam in fol. écriture de l'11^{me}. Siecle
- 20°. S[anc]ti Gregorii moralia in Job in fol. écriture de l'11^{me} :
- 21°. Idem – in fol. –
- 22°. S[anc]ti Augustini in Evangelium S[anc]ti Joanni in fol.

[Page 3]

23. S[anc]ti Gregorii homelie in fol. écriture de l'11^{me}. Siecle a la premiere page on y trouve l'histoire d'un certain miracle arrivé l'an 1017. dans un village appelé Colebecke
- 24°. S[anc]ti Hieronymi Commentaria in Matheum in fol. écriture du 9^{me}. Siecle.
- 25°. Homelie in Evangelia et Epistolæ et Sermones S[anc]toru[m] Petrum in fol. écriture du 10. Siecle.
- 26°. Missale juxta ordinationem S[anc]ti Jeremie. avec un calendrier in fol. Écriture du 10. Siecle.
- 27°. Cassiodorus in Psalterium 3. vol. in fol. 10^e. Siecle
- 28°. Ruperti Abbatis Tuiciensis de divinis officiis et Liber XIII. Flavii Josephi de antiquitatibus .11°. Siecle in fol.
29. S[anc]ti Isidori Regula Canoniale in fol. 9^{me}. Siecle
30. Beda Super Pentateucon et Carmina Lactantii de phenice en fol. 11^{me}. Siecle.
31. Vitæ S[anc]ti Amalbergæ, Cipryani etc in fol. 11^{me}. Siecle (manquant de quelques pages au commencement et à la fin)
32. Beda in Cantica Canticorum en fol. écriture du 9^{me}. Siecle

33. Prophetæ Hieremias Ezachieles Daniel etc. en fol. 7^{me}. Sie.
34. Beda in Lucam in fol. 10^e. Siecle
35. S[anc]ti Hieronymi in Pauli Epistolas in fol. sec. 9^{me}.
36. Vitæ aliquot Episcoporum Triverientium in 4°. 10^{me}. Siecle
37. B. Julianus et Pomerius de vita Contemplativa. in fol.
38. S[anc]ti Augustinus de consensu Evangelistarum in fol. 12^{me}.
39. Idem de Civitate Dei in fol. 12 Siecle (manque de q[ue]lques pages)
40. Martyrologium et Regula S[anc]ti Benedicti in fol. écriture di 10. Siecle

[Page 4]

41. Antiphonæ et Inni avec de notes musicales in 4°. de 10^e. Siecle
42. S[anc]ti Hieronymi Epistolæ en fol. écriture du 10^e. Siecle
43. S[anc]tu)s Ambrosius de Sacramentis. Basilii Dialogi et S[anc]ti Chrisostomi homeliæ in fol. 11^{me}. Siecle.
44. Vitæ SS. Petri et Pauli in fol. parvo 11^{me}. Siecle.
45. Tagii Commentaria in Sententias Beati Gregorii écriture de l'8^{me}. Siecle, lettres saxonnes en fol.
46. Interpretationes Vocabulorum plurium utriusque testamenti. et S[anc]ti Augustini in^d Epistolas ad Romanos et ad Galathas. (il y a trois pages: de quadratura circuli) in fol. parvo.
47. Vitæ aliquot S[anc]torum et S[anc]ti Wilibordii in fol. parvo écriture de l'11^{me}. 12^{me}. Siecle.
48. S[anc]ti Hieronymi in Prophetas in 4°. 9^{me}. Siecle
49. Vitæ S[anc]torum in 4°. 12^{me}. Siecle.
50. Idem et Libri Confessionis in 4°. 9^{me}. Siecle
51. S[anc]tu)s Ambrosius de officiis in 4°. Ecriture de l'11^{me}. Siecle (au commencement il y a plusieurs pages avec cette Inscription: de Excessu fratris Satyri.)
52. Iustus Episcopus Lugdunensis in Cantica
S[anc]tu)s Hieronymus contra Pelagium in 4°. Ecrit. 10^e. Siecle
53. S[anc]tus Augustinus in Psalmos in 4°.
54. Epistolæ S[anc]ti Pauli in 4°. 9^{me}. Siecle
55. S[anc]ti Audeoni Vita in 4°.
56. Vitæ aliquot S[anc]torum in 4°.

[Page 5]

^d *add. supra lineam*

57. Virgilii Bucolica a versu 28. inclusive Eclogae 5^e. Georgica et Aeneidos. avec quelques pages de Prisciain sur l'Aeneides. in fol. max. avec de marges. écriture du 9^{me}. Siecle^c
58. Horatii – Persii Satyrae – Iuvenalis Satyrae – Terentius afer en fol. 10^{me}. Siecle on trouve dans ce même vol.
 - 1^o. fabula Lucani
 - 2^o. Epithaphium Diogenis quod moriens sibi fecit
 - 3^o. varia ipsius gesta
 - 4^o. Tria Compendia de loco natalitio Horatii flacci
 - 5^o. 20. lineae de morte Iuvenalis
 - 6^o. Tabula illuminata de Epactis.^f
59. Macrobius in Somnum Scipionis avec des figures colorées
Sallusti Bellum Catalinarium et Iugurthinum
Calcidius in Thimeum Platonis en fol. 10^e. Siecl. (on trouve à la fin du vol, Laudes in abbatem)^g
60. Statii Poetae Thebaidas in fol.
61. Lucanus cum notis et vita auctoris in fol.
62. idem avec des notes differentes et sans la vie de l'auteur in fol.
63. Idem cum notis in fol. parvo
64. Priscianus de octo partibus Orationis et Earumdem constructione in fol. 10^e. Siecle
65. Idem. fol. parvo écriture du 12^{me}. Siecle
66. Macrobius in Somnum Scipionis in 4^o. 11^e. Siecle

[Page 6]

67. Grammaticalia et de arte metrificandi in 4^o. (manquant de quelque pages) 10^e. Siecle.
68. Alchimii Carmina de Origine mundi etc in 4^o. 11^{me}. Siecle.
69. Alani Poemata in 4^o. Ecriture du 13^e. Siecle
70. Hisydori hispanensis Etimologiae Libri cum figuris (manquant de quelques pages) en fol. 10^{me}. Siecle.
71. Baeda de templo Salamonis in 4^o. 11^{me}. Siecle
72. Trogi Pompej historiarum Abbreviationes in fol. Sie 11^{me}.

^c *Nota in margine sinistro:* M[anu]s[crit]s de la plus grande beauté

^f *Nota in margine sinistro:* idem

^g *Nota in margine sinistro:* idem

73. Boetius in Isagoge Porphirii et in Categorias Aristotelis in fol. parvo 11^{me}. Siecle
74. Idem in Periermenias Aristotelis in fol. parvo on trouve dans ce même vol. : alexandri magni Epistola ad Aristotelem magistrum suum de situ Indiae et
75. Idem de Arithimetica in 4°. 10^{me}. siecle
76. Idem de Consolatione Philosophiae
77. Idem in Periermenias Aristotelis in fol. 11^e. Siecle
78. Galterius in historiam alexandri magni cum notis in 4°. 13. Siecle.
79. Baeda de gestis Anglorum in fol. parvo ecriture du 10^{me}. Siecle.

Ortolany Adjoint

Fin

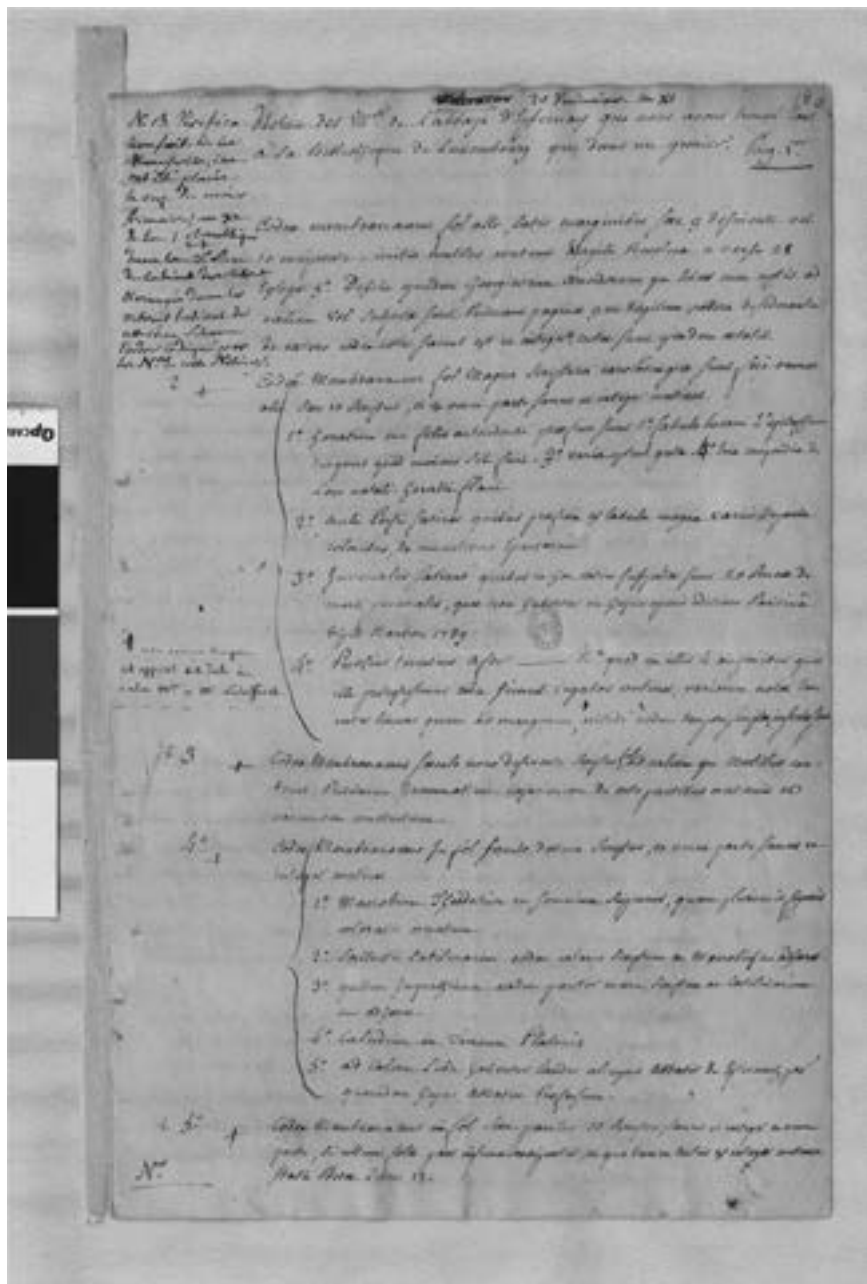


Figure 8. The Vergil list in Maugérard's hand. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives Modernes, Carton 497, p. 1. Reproduced with permission.

The Vergil List (Paris, BnF, Archives Modernes, Carton 497)

Pag. 1.^{er} ^a

Notice^b des Mss. de l'abbaye d'Epternach que nous avons trouvé tant a la Bibliotheque de Luxembourg que dans un grenier.^c

- 1 Codex membranaceus fol alto,^d latis marginibus saec 9 desinente vel 10 incipiente. initio mutilus continet Vergilii Bucolica a versu 28 Eglogae 5°. Dehinc ejusdem Georgicarum Aenedorum que libros cum notis. ad calcem vol. subjectae sunt Prisciani paginae 9 in Virgilium; caetera desiderantur. de caetero codex iste sanus est et integer. Notae sunt ejusdem aetatis.
- 2 Codex Membranaceus^e fol. Magno scriptura carolingica sicut ferê omnes alii saec 10 scriptus, et ex omni parti sanus et integer continet
 - 1°. Horatium cui folio antecedenti praefixa sunt 1°. fabula lucani 2°. epitaphium Diogenis quod moriens sibi fecit. 3°. Varia ipsius gesta. 4°. Tria compendia de loco natali horatii flacci
 - 2°. Auli Persii Satiras quibus praefixa est tabula magna variis depicta coloribus, de inventione Epactarum
 - 3°. Juvenalis Satiras quibus in hoc codice subjectae sunt 20 lineae de morte juvenalis, quae non haberetur in hujus operis editione parisina tipis Barbou 1739
 - 4°. Publius Terentius Afer – N[ot]a quod in illis 4 aucjoribus quos ille pretiosissimus codex simul legatos continet, variorum notae tam inter lineas quam ad marginem, nitidè eodem tempore scriptae, insertae sint
- 3 Codex Membranaceus saeculo nono desinente scriptus fol.^f ad calcem qui^g mutilus continet Priscianum Grammaticum Caesariensem de octo partibus orationis et earundem constructione.

^a nos paginarum add. altera manu

^b 20 Vendemiaire an XI (12 October 1802) add. supra lineam altera manu; N. B. Vérification fait de ceux Manuscrits, ils ont été placés le onze du mois frimaire, an XI de la I Republique – dans la 3^{me}(?) Liace du Cabinet des titres et rangés dans le retrait lateral de cette Liace selon l'ordre indiqué par les Numeros de cette Notices. add. in marginem altera manu

^c que nous avons trouvé a Luxembourg L

^d max L

^e L semper leget Idem pro 'codex membranaceus'

^f add. supra lineam; om. L

^g om. L

- 4°. Codex Membranaceus In fol^a saeculo decimo scriptus, ex omni parte sanus et integer continet
- 1°. Macrobius Theodosius in Somnium Scipionis, quam plurimis figuris coloratis ornatum.
 - 2°. Sallustii Catilinarium eodem calamo scriptum ac Macrobius cui adhaeret.
 - 3°. Ejusdem Jugurthinum eadem pariter manu scriptum ac Catilinarium cui adhaeret.
 - 4°. Calcidium in Timeum Platonis
 - 5°. ad Calcem Libri habentur laudes alicujus abbatis de Epternach per quemdam hujus abbatis Professum.
- 5°. Codex Membranaceus in fol Saec pariter 10 scriptus, sanus et integer ex omni parte, si ultimi folii pars infima excipiat, in quo tamen textus est integer continet Statii Poetae Libros 12.

Pag. 2

- 6 Codex Membranaceus eodem saeculo 10 scriptus scriptura Carolovingica sicut praecedente^b cum notis interlinearibus, marginalibus que continet lucanum de bello civili. Folio unico primo Lucani vita textum praecedat – N[ot]a operculis adhaerent duo folia scriptura unciali^c saeculo 7 incipiente scripta.
- 7 Codex Membranaceus eodem saeculo scriptura minori carolovingicâ scriptus^d cum notis interlinearibus marginalibus que continet eundem Lucanum de bello civili; at in eo non habetur vita Lucani de quâ supra. – N[ot]a quod hoc in codice notae insertae valde differant ab illis quae habentur in codice N°. 6. Codex est sanus et integer.^e
- 8 Codex^f membranaceus, ac variis in partibus mancus, saeculo x incipiente variis manibus scriptus^g continet Gregorium Turonensem. haec scripturae varietas^h provenit ex eo quod in illis saeculis monasteriorum abbates, hinc et inde loco laboris manualis vel infirmos vel seniores, vel huic labori manuali ineptos, ad

^a In fol] *om. L*

^b minori *del. et sicut praecedente add. supra lineam*; scriptura – praecedente] *om. L*

^c folio *del.*

^d *om. L*

^e Codex iste sanus est et integer *L*

^f *C corr. ex G*

^g saec. X° incipiente variis manibus scriptus et variis in partibus mancus *L*

^h * *supra lineam et* * in variis Manuscriptis *add. in marginem altera manu*

scribendos codices pro usu communi deputarent, quod constat ex ipsis codicibus de Epternac infra citatis N°. 9–11–29–35^a in quibus Scriptorum Epternacensium nomina Leguntur. Cum autem partes omnes a singulis absolutae erant, tunc simul colligabantur et emendabantur a Censore, ad Librariam communem postea deportandae. Hoc est volumen a DD. Administratore Caperonier^b designatum. Cum prae manibus non habeam hujus operis aliud exemplar completum nec manuscriptum nec impressum a designandis et notandis istius exemplaris imperfectionibus abstinerebo.^c

- 9 Codex Membr fol.^d ex omni parte sanus et integer saeculo X desin.^e scriptus continet historiam tripartitam ex socrate, sozomeno & scriptus fuit hic codex per quemdam nomine Volkerum Monachum Epternacensem de Mandato Regimberti sui abbatis ad marginem enim praefationis haec leguntur. Do[mi]nus abbas Regimbertus auctor libri hujus et Volkerus scriptor vivat in aeternum amen. Si quis abstulerit anathema sit.
- 10 Codex Membr fol.^f ex omni parte sanus et integer,^g saec X scriptus cum per multis figuris coloratis, continet Musicalia et praecepta Musicae. in superiori parte folii I. aliquis nomen authoris ignorans haec scripsit. Scripsit haec quidem cujus nomen ignoro; sed Doctor quidam vocat eum Boetium.
- 11 Codex Membr In fol ex omni parte sanus integer^h saec X desinenteⁱ scriptus per tres monachos de Epternach, Regimbertum abbatem; Ravangerum et Erebonum;^j Continet Pauli horosii Presbiteri Libros septem contra paganos – quibus septem libri subjecta sunt septem folia quae chronicon exhibent –

^a 35 *add. altera manu*; 35 etc *L*

^b Capronier *L*

^c Cum prae manibus – abstinerebo] Codex iste caret pluribus capit[ul]is non omnino ut designatur a d.º Domino Capronier sed ita ut sequitur Libro V deest capit[ulu]s XIV – Lib. VI deest pars capit[itu]li XIV – N[ot]a quod in eodem libro VI ubi legitur capit[itu]ls VI legendum capit[itu]ls XVI et ubi denuo cap. VI – legendum cap. XVII – libro VII nihil deest – libro VIII deest cap primum Libro IXº nihil deest (*partim add. supra lineam*) *L*

^d *add. supra lineam; om. L*

^e *add. supra lineam altera manu; om. L*

^f *add. supra lineam*

^g fol. ex – integer] *om. L*

^h ex omni – integer] *om. L*

ⁱ *add. supra lineam altera manu; om. L*

^j Regimbertum – Erebonum] *om. L*

sequuntur alia duo folia quae habent carmen de provinciis^a partium mundi – ad marginem praefationis haec leguntur, Regimberto Abbati, Ravengero quoque et Ereboni scriptoribus requies aeterna donetur. operculis adhaerent duo folia saeculo octavo scripta.

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- 12 Codex membran. sanus et integer scriptus In fol. partim saec XI partim XII continet
 - 1°. S. Augustini librum retractationum scriptum saec XI^b
 - 2°. gesta 52 Episcoporum sedis Tungrensis Ttrajecti Leodiensis Libri 2. saec XI^c
 - 3°. historiam translationis S. ae Mariae Magdaleneae, et historiam S. ae Marthae hospite Christi saec XII^d
 - 4°. Passio S. Sebastiani et historia aliquot aliorum Sanctorum saec XII. No[ta] quod folio I quod antecedit, et folio quod secuntur retractationes, annotatae sint proprietates Consuales abbacie de Epternach; item ea quae Cellerarius debebat recipere et Distribuire.
- 13 Codex Membr.^e Ex omni parte sanus integer et elegans, continens S. Jeronimi martirologium saeculo nono scriptum. ad Calcem habetur Kalendarium a D[omi]no Caperonier designatum; at in eo non reperitur nec mense Novembris, nec ullibi nomen S. Willibrordi – ad Calcem huius Kalendarii, in foliis quae sunt pars ipsius codicis sive quaternionis habentur 1°. argumenta lunaria quae incipiunt anno 703 et desinunt anno 721^f – 2°. pagina sequens habet argumentum hebdomadarium ab anno 722 ad annum 740; tum ipso folio verso deducitur ad annum 759 – omisso folio sequente quod varias preces continet, iterum incipit computatio annorum ad annum usque 779, et ipso folio verso ad annum usque 797. at codex iste Kalendarii quod in capite habet epistolam aliquam honorii, et uncialibus letteris saltem saeculo octavo^g

^a *corr. ex principiis L*

^b *scriptum saec XI] om. L*

^c *saec XI] om. L*

^d *saec XII] om. L*

^e *in 4°. add. L*

^f *quae incipiunt anno 721. L*

^g *fuit del.*

scriptum, non pertinet ad illud martirologium a quo est separatum, ut quaterniones indicant.^a

- 14 Codex Membr. fol. sanus et integer saec IX desinente vel X scriptus continet Lucani de bello Civili Libros X cum notis insertis in sex prioribus foliis – ad calcem Decimi Libri numerantur 26 carmina quae non pertinent ad textum.
- 15 Codex Membr. In 4°. ex omni parte sanus et integer, saeculo XII eleganter scriptus continet Priscianum de octo partibus orationis
- 16 Codex Membr. fol. sanus et integer saec. XI scriptus continet Boetium in perihermenias Aristotelis.
- 17 Codex Membr. sanus et integer in 4°. saeculo XI scriptus continet eundem Boetium de consolatione Philosophiae.
- 18 Codex Membr. In 4°. Saeculo 13 incipiente scriptus continet Galterium in historiam Alexandri Magni cum notis
- 19 Codex Memb. In 4°. sanus et integer saeculo decimo eleganter scriptus, continet Boetii Arithmetica
- 20 Codex Membr. In fol. Minori, sanus et integer saeculo undecimo scriptus, continet Bedam de gestis anglorum.

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- 21 Codex Membr. In 4°. saeculo XI variis manibus scriptus, sanus et integer continet Trogi Pompeii historiarum compendium.
- 22 Codex Membr. In 4°. sanus et integer saeculo XI scriptus continet
 - 1°. Boetii commentaria in perihermenias aristotelis.
 - 2°. epistolam alexandri Magni de situ indiae ad Aristotelem Magistrum suum.
- 23^b Codex Membr. In 4°. saeculo undecimo incipiente^c scriptus continet
 - 1°. Boetium in Isagoge Porphyrii
 - 2°. eundem Boetium in Categorias aristotelis
- 24^d Codex membr. sanus et integer, Saeculo XI incipiente scriptus continet Bedam de templo Salomonis.
- 25 Codex Membr. operculis destitutus Saeculo decimo desinente scriptus continet poemata alchimi^e de origine Mundi, de peccato originali &c^f

^a ut quaterniones indicant] *add. altera (?) manu; om. L*

^b *descriptio no. 24 in L*

^c saeculo undecimo incipiente] *eodem tempore L*

^d *descriptio no. 23 in L*

^e alchimii *L*

^f &c] *om. L*

- 26 Codex Membr sanus et integer Saeculo undecimo desinente scriptus continet Macrobius in somnium Scipionis.
- 27 Codex Membr In fol primis et ultimis foliis carens Saec X scriptus continet grammaticalia artem que metrificandi; ac plerisque in locis scriptura est adeo deleta ut vix possit legi
- 28 Codex Membr. fol. continens prophetas et novum testamentum Saeculo IX scriptum – N[ot]a 1°. quod ad calcem Malachiae prophetae, post explicit ultima linea capitalibus scripta ita sit Versi sunt dccc.^a
Nota 2°. Quod in isto codice 1^{ac} Joan 5^b non habeatur ille^c celeberrimus versus tres sunt qui testimonium dant &c; sed tantum versus 8^{us}. de sp[irit]u aqua et sanguines.^d
- 29 Codex Membr sanus et integer, fol Scriptus Saeculo X desinente vel XI incipiente Scriptus, Continens Burchardi Episcopi Vormatiensis canonum collectionem. – N[ot]a quod ad marginem textus fol. I haec Leguntur D[omi]nus Abbas Regimbertus divinarum Scripturarum autor praecipuus hunc canonum Librum fieri instituit.
- 30 Codex Membr. fol Saec. X Scriptus, aliquot foliis primis et ultimis carens, continet Isidori hispalensis ethimologiarum libros cum figuris
- 31 Codex Membr. fol; sanus et integer continet S. Jeronimum, in Jeremiam prophetam. Saeculo X incipiente scriptus fuit.^e
- 32 Codex Memb. fol. Saec. XI incipiente Scriptus continet 1° vitas S. Martini, S. Mauri^f
2° Dialogos S. Gregorii
3° homilias Eusebii Caesariensis
N[ot]a quod fol 3. verso insertum fuerit diploma Villelmi Traiectensis Episcopi datum anno 1064 in favorem abbatae Epternacensis sub Regimberto abbate.

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^a *add. supra lineam altera (?) manu; corr. in DIII L*

^b *Joannis del. et primae Joannis 5°. add. supra lineam L*

^c *corr. ex illum L*

^d *de sp[irit]u ecqua [?] et sanguinis L*

^e *om. L*

^f *etc. L*

- 33 Codex Membr. fol. Saeculo X Scriptus continet S. Augustini opuscula 1°. De Trinitate – 2°. de variis quaestionibus – 3°. de utilitate credendi – 4°. de ratione animae – 5°. de patientiâ – 6°. de doctrina Christiana &c ex omni parte sanus est et integer.
- 34 Codex Membr fol. ex omni parte sanus et integer^a Saec 12 incipiente scriptus continet
 1°. S. Augustinum in psalmos
 2°. S. Gregorii dialogos. – ad calcem habetur enumeratio censuum abbatae Epternacensi debitorum
- 35 Codex Membr. fol. sanus et integer,^b Saeculo XI Scriptus, continet S. Jeronimum in Ezechielem Prophetam. – ad marginem dexterum folii 1. legitur, Abbati Regimberto qui iussit et Theoderico qui scripsit vita aeterna donetur.
- 36 Codex Membr. fol saeculo undecimo incipiente Scriptus et integer^c continet sancti Gregorii Moralia in Job.
- 37 Codex Membr. fol. Sanus et integer eodem Saec. XI Scriptus, continet eadem S. Gregorii Moralia in Job.^d
- 38^e Codex Membr. fol. Saeculo XI Scriptus continet S. Augustinum in Evangelium S. Joannis
- 39 Codex Membr Saec. 12 eleganter Scriptus continet S. Augustinum de consensu Evangelistarum et ejusdem sermonum de verbis Domini capit. 60
- 40 Codex Membr fol. initio mutilus Saec XI desinente scriptus, continet S. Augustinum de civitate Dei. – ad calcem habetur historia novem priorum abbatum Monasterii de Epternach; et legitur Sanctum Willibrordum (primum Episcopum trajectensem) et fundatorem obiisse anno 739. indictione 7^a.
- 41 Codex Membr fol. sanus et integer, et^f Saec X incipiente eleganter scriptus continet S. Gregorii homilias – N[ot]a quod fol. 1 habeatur historia stupendi alicujus miraculi quod anno 1017, indictione XV in loco qui dicitur Colebeke evenierit.^g

^a ex omni – integer] *om. L*

^b sanus et integer] *om. L*

^c et integer] *om. L*

^d 37 – Job] *om. L; nos 38–64 = 37–63 L*

^e 37 *corr. ex 38 L*

^f *om. L*

^g quod accidit anno 1015 indictione XV in loco qui dicitur Kolebeke. *L*

- 42 Codex membr fol.^a initio mutilus Saeculo IX Scriptus continet S. Jeronimi commentaria in Mathaeum Libros 14^b
- 43 Codex Membr. fol. magno in fine mutilus,^c Saeculo X desinente vel XI Scriptus, continet homilias plures in Evangelia et Epistolas, et quamplurimos SS. Patrum sermones.
- 44 Codex Membr. Splendidissimus In fol. forma quasi quadrata, canonibus sive concordantiis coloratis insignitus, Scriptura saxonica Majore et Nitidissima Scriptus.^d continet textum 4 Evangelistarum; Textui Mathaei praefixa est imago hominis coloribus depicta, eodem modo tribus aliis Evangelistis ipsorum imago simbolica coloribus depicta praefixa est.^e ad calcem hujus codicis ex omni parte sani et integri, legitur ips

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ipsum fuisse scriptum anno 558, hoc modo, indictione VI. Post consulatum Basilii anno 17. – iste est summi meriti codex quem Eruditissimus DD. Caperonier desiderabat^f

- 45 Codex Membr. fol. Saec XI incipiente nitide scriptus continet
 1°. S. Jeronimum de quaestionibus hebraicis, sed initio caret
 2°. S. Jeronimi interpretationem hebraicorum nominum cui praefixa est forma hebraicarum litterarum
 3°. eundem S. Jeronimum in Daniele Prophetam
 4°. Eundem de viris Illustribus qui ascendunt ad Numerum 134
 5°. Eundem in Lamentationes Jeremiae. – Iste^g est designatus a DD. Caperonier.
- 46 Codex Membr.^h ex omni parte sanus et integer Saec 9°. Scriptura anglosaxonica nitida scriptus in 4°. continet interpretationes per formam Lexicon hebraicarum dictionum. iste est pariter designatus a DD.ⁱ Caperonier.

^a *om. L*

^b Libros 14] *om. L*

^c magno in fine mutilus,] *om. L*

^d *add. supra lineam; om. L*

^e depicta sicut et aliis tribus Evangelistis. *L*

^f legitur nota ipsius anni qui est ind. 6 post Consulatum Basilii anno 558° Iste codex summi meriti & a D[omi]no Caperonier designatus. *L*

^g Codex iste *L*

^h fol. parvo *L*

ⁱ Domino *L*

- 47 Codex Membr. fol. Saec X desinente Scriptus, continet missale juxta ordinationem S. Jeronimi, cum Kalendario initio voluminis praefixo – fuit autem scriptum in abbacia et pro abbacia de Epternach Scriptum;^a nam oratio in festo S. Villibrordi fundatoris hujus abbaciae et 1^r. Trajectensium Episcopi ita legitur, Deus qui nos pro devotione beati Villibrordi Pastoris nostri in hoc ovile congregasti &c – N[ot]a huic codici manus recentior subjecit catalogum Episcoporum Trevirensium qui descendit usque ad Popponem qui obiit anno 1045.
- 48 Codex Membr. In fol. minori Saec. 9. elegantissime scriptus continet textum quatuor Evangeliorum^b cum ipsorum Canonibus sive concordantiis, cuius praefixa est pictura^c sive imago Evangelistae coloribus depicta – N[ot]a quod in manu cujusvis instrumentum Scripturae^d non sit penna; sed calamus Junceus quo tunc temporis scriptores utebantur et usi sunt usque ad Saec X desinen.^e
- 49 Codex Membr. Saeculo VI vel forte Septimo incipiente Scriptura unciale rustica Scriptus; continet S. Augustinum in psalmos a 29^o. ad 36^{um}. – sed in fine unum vel aliquot folia desiderantur. Scriptura est quidem accurata, at^f non nitida.
- 50 Codex Membr. fol. Saeculo 9 elegantissime Scriptura carolingica sed^g necdum bene formata Scriptus, sanus et integer ex omni parte, et certè^h autori suo coetaneus, si forte non sit autographus. continet Paschasii Radberti Novi Monasterii Corbeiensis in saxoniam abbatibus Celeberrimi, Librum de Eucharistia ad Placidium condiscipulum Suum. iste codex non fuit Scriptus in abbacia de Epternach; nam fol. I. recto haec leguntur Licet non sine difficultate; Dedit Ecclesiae Abbas et peccator hunc librum pro remedio animae suae Sancto Villibrordo; illi que servantibus (in Epternach) si quis abstulerit &c quis autem est ille abbas donator; annon conjicere licet fuisse ipsum paschasium, praesertim quia Modus Scripturae ipsi est coetaneus. quid quid Sit Male

^a *om. L*

^b Evangelistarum *L*

^c *ex scriptura corr. Scriptura L*

^d scriptura *L*

^e et usi sunt – X desinen.] *om. L*

^f sed *L*

^g *add. supra lineam; om. L*

^h certi *L*

somniarunt fratres nostri acatholici ipsum esse authorem dogmatis catholici de praesentia reali, nam in Sua praefatione latè depromit auctoritatem variorum patrum^a quod in dicti dogmatis probationem vocat et citat.

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- 51 Codex Membr. fol. sanus et integer.^b Saec X Scriptus continet Cassiodorum in psalmos omnes. 3 vol. fol. Nitide scripta^c
- 52 Codex Membr. fol.^d sanus et integer Saec XI desinente Scriptus continet
1°. Rupertum Abbatem Tuitiensem (prope Coloniam) de Divinis officiis
2°. Librum decimum tertium flavii Iosephi de antiquitatibus
3°. Agabardum Lugdunensem archiepiscopum in antiphonarium.
53. Codex Membr. fol. Saeculo IX Scriptus, Sanus et integer, pro ut constat ex indice capitulorum^e continet S. Isidori regulam Canonicaem sive clericalem.
54. Codex Membr. fol. Saec XI nitide Scriptus sanus et integer continet Bedam in pentateuchum. – No[ta] in superiori parte folii I. Legitur, Abbati Regimberto qui iussit, et Ruotperto^f qui scripsit. requies aeterna donetur. – ad calcem habentur 2 columnae carminum ex Lactantio.
- 55 Codex Membr. fol. initio et fine carens, Saec. XI Scriptus, continet vitas SS. amalbergae, Cypriani, justini, hidulphi, adeleidis, odiliae, S. Liutvini archie[pisco]pi trevirensi, Velehadi, albani, Celsi^g
- 56 Codex Membr. fol. Saec 9 Scriptus et sanus,^h continet Bedam in Cant. Canticorum.
- 57 Codex Membr. fol. Sanus et integer,ⁱ Saeculo VIII incipiente Scriptus, continet Prophetas, Jeremiam, Ezechielem, Danielelem, Osea, Joel, amos, Abdiam, michaeam^j &c.
- 58 Codex membr. fol. Saec. X Scriptus, continet Bedam in Lucam.

^a auctoritatem (*rep.*) *eras.*

^b sanus et integer] *om. L*

^c fol. Nitide scripta] *om. L*

^d *om. L*

^e pro – capitulorum] *om. L*

^f Ruotoperto *L*

^g odiliae – Celsi] *etc. L*

^h et sanus] *om. L*

ⁱ Sanus et integer] *om. L*

^j Osea – michaeam] *om. L*

- 59 Codex Membr. fol. sanus et integer,^a Saeculo VIII desinente Scriptus,^b scriptura quasi anglosaxonica, continet S. Jeronimum in Pauli Epistolas.
- 60 Codex Membr. In 4°. a Saec X ad XII variis manibus Scriptus continet vitas SS. Euchariei, Valerii et Materni Episcoporum Trevirensium; S[anct]ae Valburgis, et aliorum plurium.
- 61 Codex Membr fol. Saec XI incipiente Scriptus; continet libros beati Juliani et Pomerii de vita contemplativa.
- 62 Codex Membr. Fol. Saeculo X Scriptus, continet Martirologium et regulam S. Benedicti ad usum chori – illud autem fuit scriptum in abbacia et pro abbacia Epternacensi, nam ita nuntia[n]tur festum S. Villibrordi, in Monasterio Epternaco, depositio S. Patris nostri Clementis Villibrordi primi^c Trajectensium Episcopi.
- 63 Codex Membr. In 4°. sanus et Integer, saec. X desinente elegantissime^d Scriptus, continet varias antiphonas et himnos notis musicalibus apprimè ordinatis instructos. hic liber fuisset utilissimus Martino Gerbert abbati S. Blasii pro suo opere de Musica veterum.^e
- 64 Codex Membr. fol; Saec X desinente Scriptus, continet 51 varias epistolas S. Jeronimi, prout in earum indice notatae reperiuntur.
- 64^{bis} Codex Membr fol.^f Saec XI incipiente nitidissime Scriptus continet
 1°. S. Ambrosium de sacramentis
 2°. S. Basilii dialogos
 3°. S. Chrisosthomi homilias varias.

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- 65 Codex Membr fol. Saec XI Scriptus continet
 1°. Vitas et gesta SS. apostolorum Petri et Pauli aliorum que SS.
 2°. S. Jeronimum in Cantica Canticorum
- 66 Codex Membr fol. ex omni parte sanus et integer, Saeculo octavo scriptura anglo saxonica quae ad cursivam accedit^g scriptus Continet^h Tagii

^a sanus et integer] *om. L*

^b continet *del.*

^c *om. L*

^d eleganter *L*

^e hic liber – de Musica veterum.] *om. L*

^f *om. L*

^g quae ad cursivam accedit] *om. L*

^h scriptus Continet] *add. supra lineam.*

commentaria (cuidam Episcopo nomine quiriens, cognomine Samuel dicata^a) in sententias Beati Gregorii – N[ot]a hic codex notabilis est praesertim forma capitalium quibus ipsius dedicatio operi^b praefixa, et titulus capitum folio 3 scripta sunt^c

- 67 Codex Membr. fol. Sanus et integer,^d Saec XI Scriptus, continet
 - 1°. interpretatione^e plurium vocabulorum utriusque testamenti
 - 2°. tres paginas de quadratura circuli
 - 3°. S. augustinum in Epistolam ad Romanos. – N[ot]a quod^f
 - 4°. Tabula cicli paschalis per annos 532 haec^g omnia praecedat.
- 68 Codex Membr In 4°. cujus variae partes Scriptae sunt Saec X-XI-XII continet varias vitas SS. et praesertim S. Villibrordi qui vocatur Patronus Epternacensis.
- 69 Codex Membr In 4° Saec IX eleganter scriptus continet S. Jeronimum in 12 prophetas.
- 70 Codex Membr In 4°. Sanus et integer Saec 12 Scriptus, continet varias vitas SS.
- 71 Codex Membr in 4°. continet 1°. varias vitas SS. saeculo 9 Scriptas
2°. S. augustini Confessionum Libros Saec 10 Scriptos.
- 72 Codex Membr. In 4°. circa medium Saeculi 13 Scriptus, et certe auctori suo coaetaneus, continet Alani poemata.
- 73 codex Membr In 4°. Saec X et XI^h Scriptus continet
 - 1°. S. ambrosium de officiis
 - 2°. eundem de excessu fratris satiri
- 74 Codex Membr. In 4°. Saec X desinente scriptus continet
 - 1°. Justum Episcopum Lugdunensem in Cantica Cantorum
 - 2°. S. Jeronimum contra Pelagium.
- 75 Codex Membr. Saec 9 Scriptus continet S. augustinum in aliquot psalmos.

^a *add. supra lineam; om. L*

^b *add. supra lineam; om. L*

^c *et tituli Capitum scripti (ex scripta) sunt. L*

^d *Sanus et integer,] om. L*

^e *Interpretatio L*

^f *– N[ot]a quod] om. L*

^g *quae L*

^h *circa medium saec. X. vel XI°. L*

- 76^a Codex Membr In 4°. Saec X^b incipiente Scriptus continet^c epistolas S. Pauli et aliquot conciones.
- 77^d Codex Membr In 4°. Saec X^e scriptus continet vitam S. Audoeni episcopi
- 78 Codex Membr In 4°. Saec X incipiente^f Scriptus continet vitas SS. Simeonis stilitae,^g Basilii et Dionisii.^h in fine mutilus est.
79. Cod. Membr f.ⁱ Saec IX incipiente Scriptura anglosaxonica Scriptus, egregius sanus^j continet partem maximam operis S. Augustini de Trinitate; initio caret.
- 80 Cod. Membr f saeculo 8 desinente. Scriptura anglosaxonica scriptus eleganter,^k sanus et integer, continet S. Jeronimum in Jsaïam
- 81 Cod. Membr. fol Saec 9^l desinente scriptura anglosaxonica scriptus variis Manibus, continet amalarium qui ibi denominatur Corepiscopus trevirensis de Ecclesiastico ordine^m

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N[ot]a illa 81 volumina quorum plurima pretiosa sunt proveniunt ex abbacia de Epternach ordinis S. Benedicti cujus nomini fuit inscripta. Saeculo nono Monachi illi quos fundator S. Villibrordus ibi introducerat debuerunt foundationem canonicis cedere,ⁿ at eam Saec X incipiente eam^o iterum occupantes, studio Litterarum zelose iterum se dederunt; et ipsorum vigiliis, ea bibliothecae ipsorum fragmenta debemus modo memorata, quibus furor bellicus, rapacitas, injuria que temporum pepercerunt.

^a *descriptio no. 77 in L*

^b in 4°. eodem saec. *L*

^c vitam *add. et del. L*

^d *descriptio no. 76 in L*

^e incipiente *add. L*

^f *om. L*

^g *om. L*

^h etc. *add. L*

ⁱ *om. L*

^j et integer *del.*

^k *om. L*

^l *corr. ex 8 et desinente add. supra lineam.*

^m non videtur is esse qui fuit abbas in hornbac *add. in marginem*

ⁿ foundationem canonicis cedere debuerunt *L*

^o *om. L*

No[ta] 2° illos codices Memoratos n°. 44 et 49,^a qui evidentè anteriores sunt fundationi abbatiæ Epternacensis non posse ex eâ^b provenire; sed probabilissime perveniunt^c ex abbatiâ S. Maximini Trevirensis in quâ saeculo V. monachi S. Basilii fuerunt fundati et dotati, quibus postea Dagobertus francorum Rex Monachos S. Benedicti substituit

Codices Mss. qui ex abbatiâ aureae Vallis (orval) ord. cistercensis, proveniunt, Luxemburgi in aliquo granario^d cum aliis plerisque de Epternach, a nobis reperti.

- 82 Cod. Membr. fol. nitide scriptus anno 1157^e prout legitur in aliquo carmine ad calcem operis de officiis Ecclesiasticis, sanus et integer continet
- 1°. Roberti Monachi ord. S. Benedicti in abbatiâ S. Laurentii in Leodio tractatum de officiis Ecclesiasticis
 - 2°. Merlini albionensis varias prophetias
 - 3°. triumphum beati Lamberti martiris et Episcopi Leodiensis de castro Bullonio
 - 4°. Genealogiam Pippini de cujus prosapia ortus est Rex Dagobertus
 - 5°. acta et gesta S. Dagoberti regis et Martiris. – N[ot]a quod etiam nunc illè Dagobertus apud Saxones Catholicos colatur ut Sanctus.
- 83^f Manuscrit sur velin, de^g la fin du^h 13^e. Sieclⁱ qui contient des vers ou Rimes en françois selon le gout du temps. incomplet a la fin
- 84^j Codex Membr. fol. sanus et integer anno 1478 per godefridum Gheldrop scriptus, continet historiam foundationis ordinis cistercensis et illustrium virorum ejusdem ordinis.

^a etc add. *L*

^b ex eâ] add. *supra lineam*.

^c om. *L*

^d in aliquo granario] Bibliothecae *L*

^e 1557 *L*

^f *descriptio no. 84 in L*

^g du 13^e siecle finissant *L*

^h la fin du] add. *supra lineam*

ⁱ finissant *del.*

^j *descriptio no. 83 in L*

Nous soussignés nommés commissaires du Gouvernement par le Citoyen Ministre de L'intérieur pour la recherche des objets qui appartiennent aux sciences et arts dans les 4 departemens de la rive gauche du Rhine certifions que les 84 vol ci dessus indiqués sont ceux que nous avons trouvé a Luxembourg, qu'il nous ont été remis^a par le Conseiller de prefecture en^b l'absence du Prefet, qu'ils ont été encaissés

Pag. 10.

en notre presence et par nous remis au voiturier Commissionaire de Metz qui doit les rendre en cette ville le 23 de ce mois entre les mains du Cit. Collignon Imprimeur, pour le prix convenu de 40 sous^c par quintal

Ortolany

Maugerard^d

^a transmis *L*

^b faciant fonctions de Prefet *L*

^c *om. L*

^d Maugerard Ortolany *L*

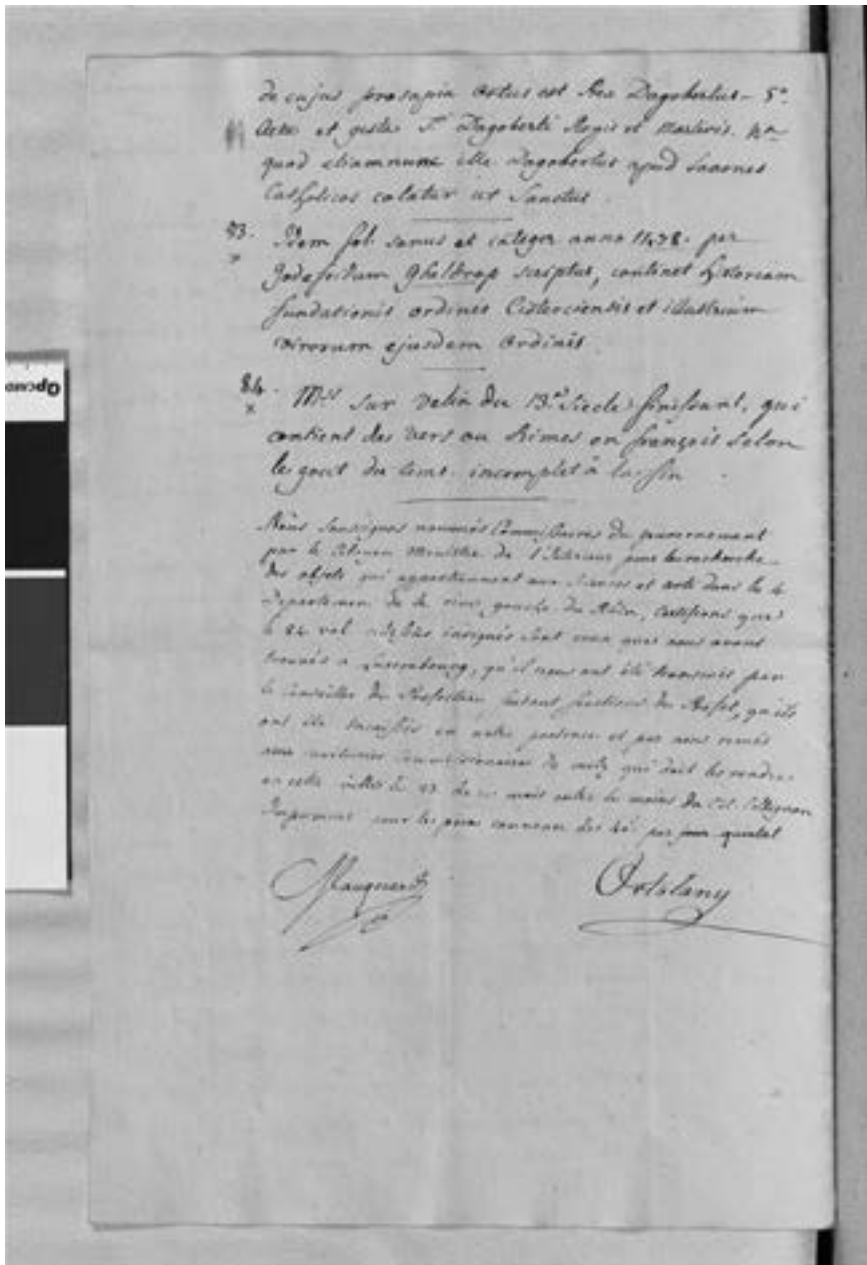


Figure 9. Maugérard's subscription, from Ortolany's copy of the Vergil list.
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives Modernes, Carton 495, p. 16.
 Reproduced with permission.

Letters (BnF, Archives modernes, Carton 497, File entitled ‘Maugérard, Lettres de lui, à lui, à sujet’)

1. From Maugérard to Capperonnier (23 October 1802)

[page 1]

Treves le 1. Brumaire an 11.

Citoien administrateur

Dans ma dernière que J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire en vous envoyant le Catalogue de ce que nous avons trouvé à Luxembourg, J'ai dit qu'après quelque Séjour à Treves je vous donnerais avis des espérances que nous pourrions y concevoir; arrivé à Treves le 21 Vendémiaire nous y avons appris que toutes les bibliothèques sans exception avaient été à plusieurs reprises livrées à la discrétion des armées, qu'il en était resté peu de choses, et que ce peu avait été déplacé et transporté dans différentes chambres de l'école centrale. Il nous a de plus été rapporté de toute part que pendant le séjour des armées les livres de plusieurs bibliothèques devenues hospital avaient été vendus par encan public et à la toise à quiconque y a mis un prix. – Nos recherches en cette cité ou mon imagination se plaisait à me représenter ce que je connaissais de précieux dans les Bibliothèques de S. Mathias, S. Maximin, S. ta Maria, S. Simeon, et chez les chartreux, &c se sont donc trouvées circonscrites dans la Bibliothèque Centrale.

Depuis que nous sommes ici nous nous sommes livrés au travail dégoûtant de tenir (?) et d'ouvrir plus de 40 voitures de bouquins qui ne valent pas même le papier, parcequ'il sont presque tous pourris et à peine avons nous pu trouver quelques volumes qui ne soient pas indignes de vos regards; il y a cependant quelques petits Zels¹ qui peut être pourront vous plaire – Ce que nous avons trouvé de Mieux est le Ms. authentiqué s'il n'est pas autographe (sur velin) des décrets de l'Empereur Frédéric II avec la cour de Rome, le quel ainsi qu'il est écrit à la fin a été remis en 1478 à l'électeur de Treves pour être conservé dans la citadelle de Coblentz.

[page 2]

Nos recherches sont finies ici et demain nous partons pour aller à Prüm de là à l'abbaye de Steinfeld à 23 lieues d'ici pour de là revenir à Hemmerode, chemin très difficile du milieu des forêts des Rochers et montagnes, et si difficile qu'il serait impossible de le faire pendant l'hiver, cette tournée sera au moins de huit jours. Je sais que nous trouverons à Prüm les Évangiles en lettres d'or que vous m'avez indiqué. J'ignore à que nous trouverons ailleurs, si nous avons peu nous le

¹ A reference to Ulrich Zell, an early publisher of valuable incunables.

rapporterons avec nous pour vous être envoyé tout de suite avec ce que nous laissons ici. Si nous sommes chargé, Je le ferai transporter ici pour vous être également envoyé pour la Moselle jusque Metz.

De Treves nous nous proposons de nous rendre à Mayence; c'est un chemin de 30 lieues de forêts. il est fait(?) que les voitures soient aussi excessivement chères à cause du prix exorbitant des denrées; mais notre zèle pour répondre à la confiance dont vous nous avez honoré nous fait trouver plaisir à aller par tout.

Nous apprendrons avec satisfaction ce que vous aurez pensé de nos deux caisses de Luxembourg qui à ce que je crois sont à ce moment entre vos mains.

Agréés s'il vous plaît Citoyen administrateur les sentimens de mon très profond respect.

Maugerard

2. Letter from Chaptal to Capperonnier (17 November 1802)²

Paris, le 26 Brumaire an 11 de la République française

Le Ministre de l'Intérieur,

Au C[itoye]n Caperonnier

Je vous transmets, Citoyen, la notice des manuscrits sur vélin que les C[itoye]ns Maugerard et Ortolany ont trouvés à Luxembourg et que je les ai invités à vous adresser directement.

Le Noulrier (?), l'administration des diligences, ou tout autre par le quel ces manuscrits vous parviendront fera l'avance des frais d'encaissement et d'emballage; et vous voudrez bien lui rembourser ses frais, en lui payant ceux de transport

Ces frais étant extraordinaires, vous en tiendrez un Etat particulier, afin que je puisse en ordonner le remboursement sur les fonds affectés aux objets de sciences et d'arts.

J'ai pensé, comme vous, qu'en donnant plus d'extension à la mission du C[itoye]n Maugerard je pourrais la rendre plus utile, et je lui adresse un ordre particulier pour visiter les Dépôts et Bibliothèques des Départemens voisins des quatre que je l'avois déjà chargé de parcourir, il pourra par ce moyen, suivre la trace de plusieurs monumens précieux qui pourroient en avoir été enlevés, et en faisant cette recherche, découvrir d'autres objets dignes de la Bibliothèque nationale.

Je vous salue

Chaptal

² On the side of the form on which the letter is copied are found original archival details omitted here.

3. Letter from Capperonnier to Chaptal (11 December 1802)

Paris, ce 20 frimaire an XI.

au Ministre del'intérieur.

Citoyen Ministre

Le premier envoi d'objects littéraires recueillis par les commissaires du gouvernement dans les nouveaux départemens de la Rive-Gauche du Rhin, nous est parvenu en bon état le 30 du mois dernier. Il consistoit en deux caisses qui nous avoient été annoncées, ne renfermant que des manuscrits trouvés à Luxembourg, au nombre de 84 volumes. Nous sommes d'autant plus satisfaits de cet envoi, que la plus part de ces manuscrits, indépendamment de leur ancienneté et de leur belle conservation présentent plusieurs ouvrages d'auteurs classiques très-important. Nous avons donc tout lieu de bien augurer des suites de la mission des commissaires, par les premiers produits qu'elle a donnés.

Nous ne savons trop comment remercier votre excellence d'avoir bien voulu, en acquiesçant à notre demande, donner plus d'extension à la mission des commissaires. C'est assurément un nouveau moyen qu'elle leur a fourni d'être plus utiles à la Bibliothèque nationale, et peut-être à d'autres établissemens publics.

Salut et respect

Capperonnier

Part II:
The Beginnings (900–1000)

THE CHARTER

Edition and Translation of the Charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga

The edition below takes into account two manuscript witnesses and two published editions of this charter:

Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9488, fols 77^v–78^r (= A; Figure 10)

Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS I 71, fol. 96^v (= B)

I have consulted the editions published in the following:

Camille Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Person des Gründers, über die Kloster- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte auf Grund des Liber Aureus Epternacensis (698–1222)*, I.1: *Textband*; I.2: *Quellenband* (Luxembourg: Luxemburger Kunst-druckerei, 1929–30), I.2, 268–70 (no. 172);

Pierre Gasnault, ‘Deux chartes de l’abbaye d’Echternach retrouvées à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 73 (1963), 48–56 (p. 56).

The basis of my text is the Paris manuscript, which is the oldest witness and the one on which the other manuscript witness, the Liber Aureus, now preserved in Gotha’s Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, was most likely based (see below). Wampach, who was not aware of the Paris manuscript, based his text on the Gotha witness. For his edition, Gasnault took A into consideration, but he referred to Wampach’s edition when it came to addressing the many places (particularly on fol. 77^v) where the charter was illegible. These lacunae are even more pronounced today, and I have filled them by referring to the Gotha manuscript (indicated by italic text). Since A spells out the diphthong -oe and uses consonantal u in places which remain legible, I have standardized these spellings. I have inserted punctuation and capitalization. My edition differs little from Gasnault’s, but is presented here to

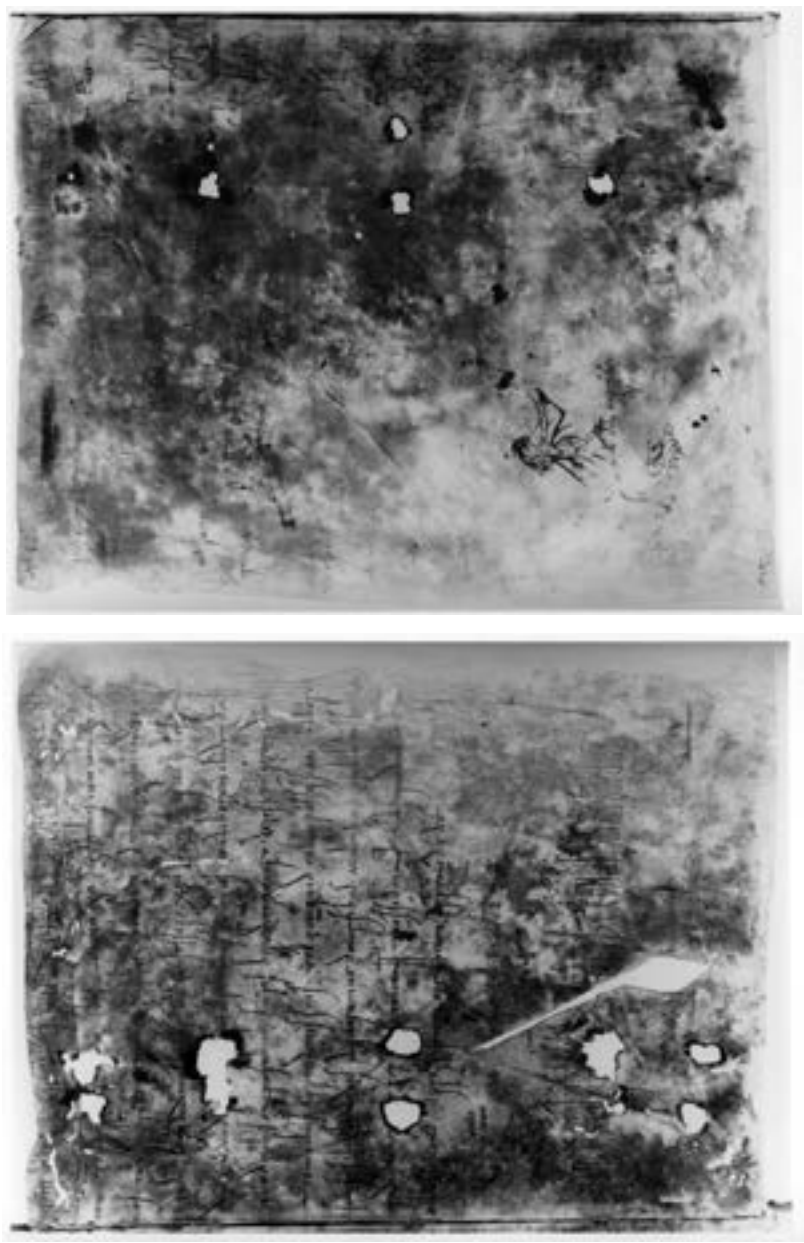


Figure 10. Charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9488, fols 77^v-78^r. Reproduced with permission.

provide a complete edition of all the texts in the bifolium. For the later additions in the margins of the parchment, see my discussion of the charter and note 4 there.

In nomine sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis. Cum scriptura diuina omnem hominem moneat elemosinis peccata esse redimenda quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem ita elemosina extinguit peccatum [Sirach 3. 33 in the Vulgate version; cf. Sirach 29. 15], item, *Facite elemosinam et omnia erunt munda uobis* [Luke 11. 41], idcirco ego Sigifrithus^a cum coniuge mea Hathawiga *necessarium esse huius praecepti oboeditionem*^b omni christiano perspicientes, tam salubri ammonitione fidelem oboedientie^c aurem accomodare disposuimus^d *et ne inutilis esset hec et uana cogitatio operibus adimplere curauimus*. Tradidimus igitur sancto confessori Christi Willibrordo, qui Ethernaco^e quod super fluuium Sura situm est *requiescit, quondam nostre proprietatis predium Munderchinga nuncupatum ad opus monachorum ibidem Deo seruientium, in comitatu Mithegowie, cui Godefridus comes preesse uidetur, quod nobis ex parentibus nostris hereditario iure accessit pro remedio et absolutione et remissione peccatorum nostrorum, cum ecclesia eiusdem uille et omnibus appenditiis suis. Vel quicquid eo loci possessionis habere uidebamur tam in mancipiis quam in edificiis, terris cultis et incultis, pratis, pascuis, siluis, aquis aquarumue decursibus, molendinis, mobilibus scilicet^f et immobilibus exitibus et redditibus, quesitis et inquirendis ut absque ullius contradictione iure perpetuo teneant et possideant ea siquidem condictione ut nostris utilitatibus, quousque uixerimus, cedat et postea plena et perfecta possessione ad^g prescriptum coenobium appendeat.*^h

^a Sigifridus *B*

^b oboeditionem *B*

^c oboedientie *B*

^d apposuimus *B*

^e qui in Ethernaco *B*

^f scilicet] *om. B*

^g perpetualiter ad *B*

^h Actum anno regnante tercio Otthone imperatore *add. B*

[In the name of the holy and individual Trinity. Since Holy Scripture admonishes every man that sins must be redeemed with alms, for as water extinguishes fire, so almsgiving atones for sin [Sirach 3. 33, cf. Sirach 29. 15; see note 40 below]; and also, give alms, and everything is clean for you [Luke 11. 41]; therefore I, Sigefrithus with my wife Hathawiga, seeing that obedience to this precept is necessary for every Christian, decided to apply the faithful ear of obedience to such salutary admonition, and we took care to carry it out in

deeds, lest it be a useless and vain thought. Hence, we have given, for the remedy and absolution and remission of our sins, to Christ's holy confessor Willibrord, who rests in Echternach, which is situated above the river Sauer, for the needs of the monks who serve God there, the estate heretofore in our possession called Monnerich, in the county of Methgowe, over which Count Godefridus presides, which came to us by hereditary right from our parents, with the church of the same estate and all its appurtenances; and whatever we possessed in that place both in dependants and in buildings, in cultivated and uncultivated lands, in fields, pastures, forests, in waters and watercourses, in mills, in movables and immovables, in revenues and profits, both claimed and not yet claimed, so that without anybody's contradiction, they may hold it and possess it by eternal right, on the condition that it may yield to our uses for as long as we live, and afterwards by full and perfect possession, it may belong to the above-written monastery.]

The Preservation of the Charter

The double folio (fols 77^v–78^r) occupied by the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga is a large parchment sheet measuring 32 cm in height and 49 cm in width.¹ Its writing has been severely disfigured by the use of acid, which has given the parchment a blue-greenish tint.² Also, a set of regularly spaced holes, caused by the binding clasps, have further damaged the parchment. Yet, one can still see that the charter was written in a neat script — ‘a nice diplomatic minuscule’³ — in ten long

¹ These are the measurements of the charter, *pace* Gasnault, ‘Deux chartes de l’abbaye d’Echternach’, p. 50: ‘320 mm du haut sur 735 mm de large’. He miscalculated the width’s measurement by adding the width of one page again (490+245=735).

² The acid used on this parchment was most likely not acid of gall, which leaves a brownish colour, but a compound which must have been similar in composition to the one used in Milan’s Ambrosian library in the 1820s, described as leaving ‘una colorazione verde o azzurrognola’ (a green or bluish discoloration) and named after its inventor, Giovanni Antonio Gioberti: Cesare Pasini, ‘Conservazione e fruizione del libro manoscritto all’Ambrosiana’, *La Bibliofilia*, 104 (2002), 283–97 (p. 287). I have found no evidence to suggest how or when the acid was applied to the charter; I follow Gasnault here, who was then a staff member of the BnF and who states that this was done in the second half of the nineteenth century. Acid was applied particularly to palimpsests, to make the inferior writing clearer. It is not clear to me why it would be applied to this charter, which was not a palimpsest, and which presumably could be read more easily before the application of the acid.

³ Gasnault, ‘Deux chartes de l’abbaye d’Echternach’, p. 50: ‘une belle minuscule diplomatique’.

lines spanning about two thirds of the width of the open surface of the bifolium (see Figure 10). The long extenders of the letters and the elongated style of the entire first line point to modest attempts at decoration.⁴ The original charter ends well above the bottom of the parchment. Gasnault dated the script to the late tenth century. And indeed, internal evidence indicates that the charter can be dated to the period after 21 May 996 and before 14 October 997.⁵ Immediately after, as I will argue below, this parchment was folded in the middle across its width (thus creating a bifolium of four pages, the central two being the written surface, and the outer two being the reverse, still blank pages) and used in the binding of a codex. The second folium was pasted down on the inside of the board of the book's back cover; the first folium remained free, serving as a flyleaf (see Figure 2). Two aspects of this action are particularly significant, but have been insufficiently considered by diplomatists. It is important to note, firstly, that the contents of the charter could still be read and, secondly, that the charter's physical integrity has been preserved intact. We must also keep in mind that this document is extraordinary

⁴ Charters written at Echternach show extenders that are relatively unpretentious (Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 66). Two lines in highly elongated letters, very difficult to read now, were added in the margin below the charter during the twelfth century, according to Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 50, n. 2, who was able to make out some of the words: 'favente Romanorum imperatore, notum sit omnibus Christi fidelibus futuris quam presentibus. Quemadmodum'. Prof. Georges Declercq, whom I thank for his assistance, suggests that these words, whose script may be dated from the late tenth century to the early part of the eleventh (contrary to Gasnault), appear to be the opening formula of an imperial diploma, namely title ('favente-imperatore'), notification, and the first word of the arenga ('Quemadmodum'). Also in the broad margins are several *probationes* and the rough drawings of a man playing the trumpet and of an animal.

⁵ The charter's dating is based on the expression 'Actum anno regnante tercio Othone imperatore', a formula that applies to Otto III's first year in office, as shown in Mathilde Uhlirz, 'Die ersten Grafen von Luxemburg', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 12 (1956), 36–51 (p. 47 and n. 58) (she is commenting on the charter's version preserved in the cartulary, which nevertheless retains this formula). This would place the donation between Otto III's coronation on 21 May 996 and 14 October 997 when Otto confirmed the charter. The late tenth-century script led Gasnault, who did not know Uhlirz's article, to interpret this phrase as referring to 'in a year during the rule of Otto III' — and come to the same dating as Uhlirz — rather than 'in the third year of the rule of Otto I', the reading favoured by the editor of Echternach's cartulary, Camille Wampach, which would date the donation to the period between 2 February 965 and 1 February 966 (charter no. 172 (donation) and 181 (confirmation) in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 268–70, 288–89). The charter's phrase, 'ad opus monachorum ibidem Deo servientibus' (for the work of the monks serving there), better fits the later date, after the re-establishment at Echternach of monastic life in 973, and not the earlier period when secular canons were in residence. Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', pp. 52–53.

for another reason: it is the only private charter from Echternach to survive in its original form between 762 and 1067.⁶

Charters were frequently recycled as binding supports; in general, however, such reuse occurs long after the writing of the charter and frequently involves the mutilation of the document, whose contents, one must assume, were no longer relevant.⁷ The Echternach charter is different from these, for it was preserved whole and undamaged. Also well documented are charters whose contents were transcribed or copied into important, generally liturgical, books to gain authority from the book's own contents.⁸ Charters, letters, and comparable documents were similarly transcribed into literary manuscripts; this practice perhaps derives from a more general appreciation of the fragility of such texts on single sheets of parchment.⁹ In these cases, only the contents, not the physical document, are preserved. The Echternach charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga offers a different example of the uses of charters, one that appears to be extremely rare, or even unique, among surviving documents.

A comparison of the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga with the Echternach charters that have survived from before the middle of the tenth century through the early twelfth century, either in original, copy, or transcription in the *Liber Aureus*,

⁶ Fourteen original royal charters survive from this period. Almost all documents surviving in original form are also transmitted in the *Liber Aureus*; a few others are transmitted in other contexts, such as the letter by Abbot Humbert of Echternach to the Empress Gisela in 1031–32, which survives in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 930, from Lorsch (Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, no. 185 (pp. 296–97)).

⁷ See the discussion in Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle-Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 13–14. One example from Echternach may be the eleventh-century document I discuss below, p. 105.

⁸ Examples of this practice are found all over Europe. See Dauvit Broun, 'The Writing of Charters in Scotland and Ireland in the Twelfth Century', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. by Karl Heidecker, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 113–31 (p. 117 and n. 25).

⁹ Examples of both practices at St Amand are given in Laurent Morelle, 'The Metamorphosis of Three Monastic Charter Collections in the Eleventh Century (Saint-Amand, Saint-Riquier, Montier-en-Der)', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word*, ed. by Heidecker, pp. 171–204 (pp. 180–83 and especially n. 25), where we find charters transcribed into a copy of the Latin Josephus, a collection of texts on logic, and a copy of Gregory the Great's *Homilies on Ezekiel*. But these codices are much older (in some cases by more than a century) than the documents. For letters, see Mary Garrison, '“Send More Socks”: On Mentality and the Preservation Context of Medieval Letters', in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. by Marco Mostert, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 69–99, especially p. 76.

prompts several observations.¹⁰ First, the absence of any signum line, of witnesses, and of the actum/datum line ('Signum- und Recognitionszeile') in the Sigefrithus charter does suggest that the charter is not an original, but a copy. Almost all original Echternach charters to have survived from this period are royal charters (twelve charters), and they do carry the 'Signum- und Recognitionszeile'. Only three private charters have survived from Echternach in their original form from this period. One is a donation of lands by Duke Gerardus of Lotharingia in 1067; another is also a donation of lands to Echternach by another Gerardus in 1096, during the abbacy of Thiofrid; the third is a charter by which the Archbishop of Cologne, in response to Abbot Thiofrid's entreaties, restores ancient revenues to the Abbey of Echternach.¹¹ In these documents are found the formulaic elements one finds in the royal charters. However, when these charters, both royal and private, were copied in the Liber Aureus, these formulaic elements were dispensed with. Even the list of witnesses is generally excluded from the transcription into the Liber Aureus.

An interesting comparison with Sigefrithus's document is provided by an early eleventh-century copy of a private charter of 805, a donation of lands to Echternach made by a woman named Godetruda. The original charter of Godetruda has not survived; the early eleventh-century copy was mutilated and cut up into two equal pieces which were used, each separately, as paste-downs in the binding of a book. As was the case for Sigefrithus's charter, this one also was salvaged when its container codex was rebound in Paris, and is now part of the factitious codex BnF, MS lat. 10400 (fol. 58).¹² Although this copy maintains some of the technical subscription material, it was, as Gasnault pointed out, abridged.¹³ Clearly, the scribe regarded this information irrelevant several centuries after the original draft. This charter lacks the script adornment of the Sigefrithus charter, and it is much smaller in size.¹⁴

¹⁰ I have surveyed nos 171–201 in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 266–332, i.e. 947 to 1110, the last charter under Thiofrid's abbacy.

¹¹ Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, nos 194, 198, 201, pp. 315–16, 324–27, 330–32.

¹² Godetruda's charter is also studied in Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', pp. 49–50, 54–55.

¹³ Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 50. The abridgement occurs in the signature line, where the charter reads, '[S]ignum Godetrudę quę hanc traditionem fieri et firmare rogavet [sic]. S. Ger[ber]ti fratris . . . et multorum' (The signature of Godetruda who asked that this tradition be made and signed. Of Fr. Gerbert, [...] and of many others). The ending suggests that the scribe did not include the signa of 'many others'.

¹⁴ Today, it measures 30 cm in height x 18.5 cm in width, but this latter measurement ought to be increased by a few centimetres, for the charter was trimmed on both sides (Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 49).

Why such an old charter would be recopied so much later after its redaction remains a mystery. But it is interesting to note that the evidence provided by this charter, coupled with that of the charter of Sigefrithus, might reflect a wider practice of omission of the diplomatic features or conventional elements in the redactions of copies during the early eleventh century, a practice that would be expanded to include all documents transcribed in the *Liber Aureus*.

A final contrast can be made: the donation of Sigefrithus to Echternach, unlike many, if not most, documents transcribed in the *Liber Aureus*, was included virtually complete in the Echternach cartulary. It was not summarized or cut in any significant way. In contrast, for example, the charter of Godetruda discussed above was greatly abridged when transcribed into the *Liber Aureus*, as was also the donation of Otto I to Echternach of 973, a royal charter analysed in detail by Wampach.¹⁵ Clearly, the retention of all the details of the contents of the charter, even in the transcription in the *Liber Aureus*, says something about the charter's significance.

My discussion so far has emphasized two principal points about the charter. One has been its unusual, if not unique, context for survival. The other has been its atypical nature: a non-royal charter from Echternach that has survived in its entirety, not only through its contents, copied whole in the abbey's chartulary, but also as a physical object. The absence of the subscription signals that it is a copy. Yet, it does not appear to be an ordinary copy, for it was not abridged in any way. Its size and script form suggest particular care and attention, another indicator of the document's significance, and may even allow its being considered as an original which was never corroborated.

The discovery and the dating of the codex to which the charter was attached allow us to reconstruct a plausible context for the charter's unusual treatment, and perhaps also for its unusual form. This codex, as we saw in the previous chapter, is today's BnF, MS lat. 10195, a codex that can be dated towards the end of the tenth century.¹⁶ This palaeographical dating of the codex is very close to the precise date that can be assigned by internal evidence to Sigefrithus's charter. Hence, the fortunate recoupling of charter and book makes it possible to suppose that the charter and the book to which it became attached were copied at the same time, and that the binding of the charter into the book was not the result of the accidental or casual reuse of a document, but that it was planned all along.

¹⁵ Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.1, 448–50.

¹⁶ See above, Chapter 2, note 142.

Charters were preserved in a variety of ways in the Middle Ages. The practice of rolling them or folding them and then storing them in a cupboard is particularly well documented. The extensive collection of charters at St Gall, for example, shows creases that reveal that they were folded into 'thin, finger-shaped packages'.¹⁷ The charter of Sigefrithus today shows no evidence that it had been folded several times, eliminating one possible proof against the charter's immediate use in a book binding.¹⁸ If the charter were an original, we might conclude that its case is a parallel, but different, example of the charters that were preserved through transcription into books.¹⁹ We might also suppose a different possibility, namely that two copies of Sigefrithus's donation were made, one of which would be the 'original' for Sigefrithus, which has not survived, and this, the second, which would then be the duplicate, or mirror copy, made and preserved for Echternach, and which for some reason was never corroborated. It has been suggested that the redaction of charters in duplicate was followed with increasing regularity at St Gall during Carolingian and later times. It has also been observed that charters were not written necessarily at the time that the donation was made. Frequently, scribes just took notes on that occasion and compiled the official document 'at home'.²⁰ Since Sigefrithus's donation was confirmed by Otto III on 14 October 997,²¹ just a few months after the original donation was made after 21 May 996, we may speculate that the charter of Sigefrithus and the confirmation by Otto III were prepared almost at the same time and that this fact may have influenced the use of the charter in the binding of the book.²²

¹⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 80; Peter Erhart, "Carta ista amalfitana est et nescitur legere": The Charters of Cava dei Tirreni and St Gall and their Evidence for Early Medieval Archival Practice', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 50 (2007), 27–39, passim.

¹⁸ It is possible that evidence of folding could be erased by later (and particularly modern) use. However, I have not yet encountered an example of this.

¹⁹ See above, note 8.

²⁰ McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 97–98.

²¹ The confirmation occurs within a larger donation (Wampach, *Geschichte*, 1.2, no. 181 at p. 290).

²² A contrasting example is provided by another Echternach charter, the early eleventh-century copy of the donation to Echternach by Godetruda in 805, discussed above, p. 105. As stated, this copy was trimmed along its width and cut into two along its height, and each piece was glued onto wood boards used in the binding of a book that remains unknown (or two books?). We cannot date, therefore, its reuse as binding support. Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 51, suggested that the charter of Sigefrithus may have been a contemporary copy.

Its existence may have been deemed necessary to support the confirmation but has been superseded to a certain extent by Otto's document.

Echternach books surviving from the last quarter of the tenth century and the early eleventh century expose an active and complex institution and suggest that a great deal of organization and coordination supported the production of books and documents. The manuscripts studied by Hartmut Hoffmann show that more than one dozen hands could work on a single codex.²³ My examination of BnF, MS lat. 10195 shows that several scribes contributed to this codex.²⁴ At least two hands copied the texts of Macrobius (fols 2^r–41^r) and Cicero (fols 41^r–43^r) (see Figures 11 and 12).²⁵ A third scribe, whose work is significant when it comes to dating the codex (as discussed in the previous chapter), is the one who copies Sallust's *Catilina* (Figure 13), and continues to the top of fol. 60^{rb} (see Figure 14, where the change of hand can be seen in line 12: 'cuius impudentia . . .').²⁶ This scribe's hand has also been found in two Trier manuscripts.²⁷ Several hands completed Sallust and wrote Calcidius.²⁸

²³ Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509–15. Seven hands, for example, worked on Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694; twelve on Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9557; thirteen on Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 64/1679.

²⁴ Here, I disagree with the contention in François Avril and Claudia Rabel, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine germanique (X–XIVs.)* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), p. 19, that, in opposition to Schroeder's at least three scribes (*Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 55), the writing of this codex would appear homogeneous and be due to one scribe, with the exception of the bifolium 75–76, which was added to fill a lacuna at the end of the text of Sallust. Certainly the writing is homogeneous, but only insofar as it reflects contemporary scribes trained in the same script discipline. See what follows.

²⁵ The first scribe (fols 2^r–5^v) uses only straight d's, he writes very characteristic tall f's, and tall st and ct ligatures (see Figure 11, which reproduces fol. 2^v). A second scribe takes over on fol. 5^v (see fol. 6^r reproduced in Figure 12 for this hand); he writes frequent uncial d's (both within and at the end of words: see *ad, notandum, de quibus, debens*), shorter f's, and shorter ligatures. This scribe also writes a g with a completely open bottom loop.

²⁶ His hand is characterized by a tall, narrow appearance, by the use of both straight and uncial d, by a tall f, with its top hook swerving to the left at the curve (a similar turn is found in the st ligature), by an unremarkable g, by prominent st and ct ligatures, by a zig-zag-like cedilla, and by an occasional squarish capital Q. His hand is discussed (and reproduced from fol. 55^v of lat. 10195) in Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, I, 14, and Plate LIII, from which Hoffman drew his comparison. See further below.

²⁷ Gotha, Memb. I 103; Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1089/26 (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 477, 492). See above, Chapter 2, note 142.

²⁸ A new hand can be detected on fol. 64^r, for example, but a thorough palaeographical study may reveal others. A hand will also appear more than once in the manuscript.



Figure 11. The first scribe. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10195, fol. 2^v. Reproduced with permission.

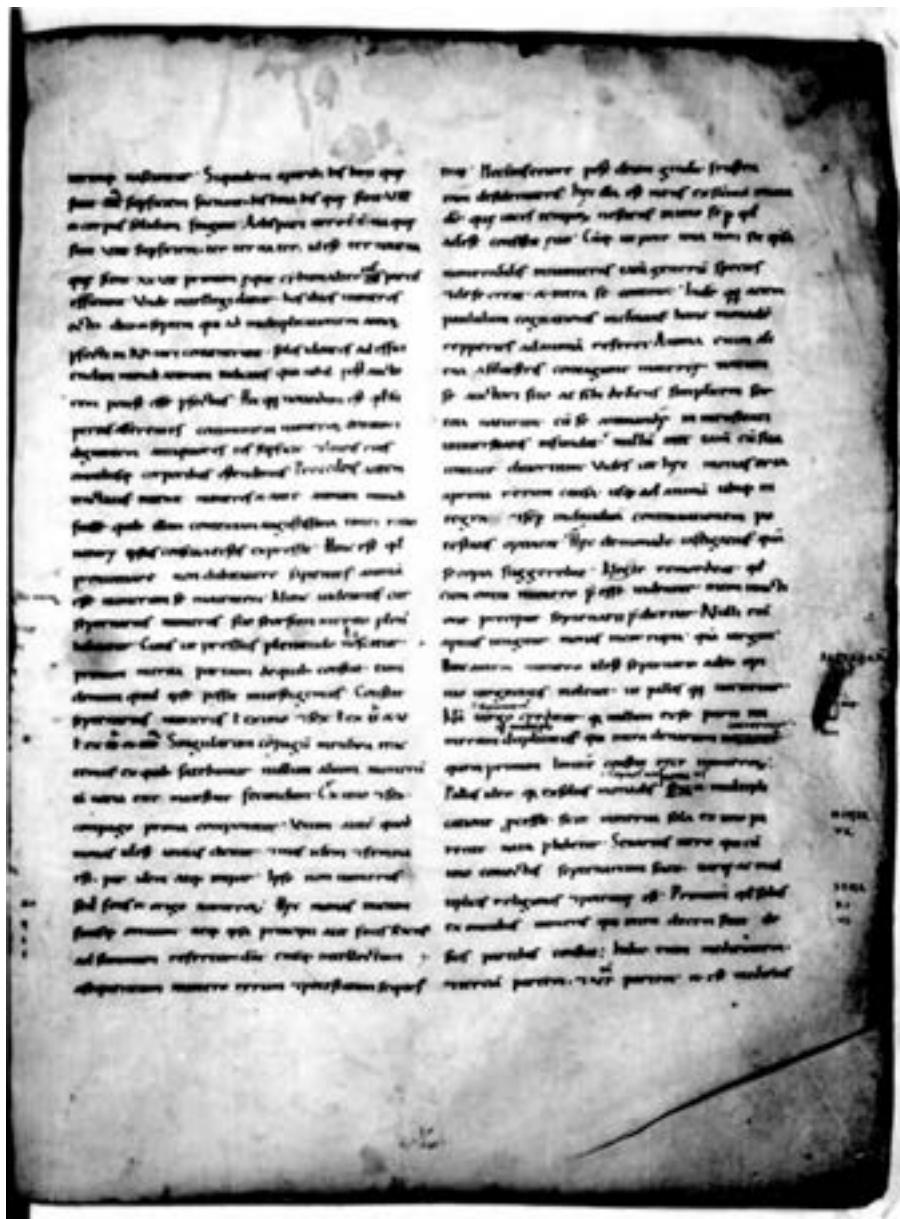


Figure 12. The second scribe. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10195, fol. 6r. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 13. The scribe identified by H. Hoffmann. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10195, fol. 55^v. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 14. The change in scribe. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10195, fol. 60^r. Reproduced with permission.

Schroeder's work on Echternach's scriptorium during this period identified an extremely productive copyist, whom he named Master Scribe B, to express the wide range of his activity documented in surviving Echternach codices. His hand is visible in the splendid copy of Paschasius Radbertus, now BnF, MS lat. 8915, to which we will return in Chapter 5. Grave concerns have been expressed by Hoffmann about some of Schroeder's widespread attributions to the pen of Master Scribe B, concerns which are supported by my own study of Echternach manuscripts. Contrary to Schroeder's attribution, for example, I do not find the hand of this Master Scribe in MS lat. 10195.²⁹ Yet, Hoffmann's survey has documented his still considerable activity in a complex scriptorium, which included copyists trained at Trier as well as Echternach scribes. We must assume a great degree of coordination of scribal activities in such a situation, and the figure of a Master Scribe would fill a necessary role. It is feasible that in a very active and well-coordinated scriptorium, if the charter is an original, it could have been planned in conjunction with a book that was being copied at the same time. A similar coordination could be envisioned if the document is a mirror copy or a duplicate. There is one more possible but, in my view, unlikely, scenario: BnF, MS lat. 10195 may have been copied not at Echternach, but at Trier, and then brought to Echternach. Hartmut Hoffmann has pointed out that the resettlement of Echternach by monks of St Maximin in 973 means that books as well as scribes travelled from Trier to Echternach, and that any books from Echternach dated to the last quarter of the tenth century could have been written at Trier. This theory is supported by the fact that at least one of the scribes of Sallust's *Catilina* in MS lat. 10195 worked

²⁹ The point of departure for this vexed question must be, following Hoffman, the definition of Master Scribe B as that found in the Leofsinus codex of Paschasius Radbertus (BnF, MS lat. 8915, from fol. 110^r; see Chapter 5) and illustrated in Hoffman, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, Plate 303, and Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, Plates 3 and 4. This hand is a rather formal hand, which does not use uncial d, except in *Sed*, and does not use a ct ligature. Schroeder claims that Master Scribe B was the principal scribe of MS lat. 10195, beginning his work on fol. 2^r and still writing fol. 55^v of MS lat. 10195, reproduced in Chatelain's Plate LIII. Hoffman, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509, already pointed out that the hand illustrated in Chatelain's Plate LIII from MS lat. 10195 (fol. 55^v) is not Master Scribe B. I showed above that the first scribe of MS lat. 10195 is different from the one who begins to write on fol. 43^r and is illustrated in Chatelain's plate. This less formal, initial hand is not that of Master Scribe B as defined by Hoffmann. Schroeder also attributes to Master Scribe B a 'Gebrauchsschrift' illustrated by his Plate 8 (Gotha, Memb. I 103, fol. 24^r). This attribution is rightly rejected by Hoffmann (I do not find this 'working' hand anywhere in MS lat. 10195, in any case). Note as well that Schroeder's contention that Scribe B copied a document of 997 (the charter no. 182 in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 290–91), which would have further dated his hand, is rejected by Hoffmann.

on a Boethius for St Maximin and a Persius for St Eucharius of Trier.³⁰ However, the link between MS lat. 10195 and the charter of Sigefrithus's donation to Echternach, discussed above, favours Echternach as the place where the manuscript was copied, or at least completed, and where, we must assume, it was bound.

In either case, the link between the writing of the charter and the complete production of the codex fits into the context of a well-coordinated scriptorium at Echternach, one that was associated with other scriptoria from the Trier area. It suggests that the charter's use in the newly written codex is an example neither of recycling nor of passive preservation, but rather a case of deliberate conservation, which takes into account the nature of the materials and devises methods both to protect them and to make them accessible.³¹ Such deliberate preservation would also help to explain the unusual form of the document, that is, its careful reflection of the original's script and ornamentation, which belie its true nature as a copy. Given the great activity of the scriptorium of Echternach at this time and the influx of books and scribes from Trier, the use of the charter as a binding support may also indicate a wish to maximize the efficient use of parchment.³² But if the intention had been simply one of economic recycling, then it would have made more sense to reverse the charter and leave two blank pages for writing, rather than one. We should consider the diplomatic and literary activities of the Echternach scriptorium as two components of the same enterprise, in which the study of one may also enrich our understanding of the other.³³ Other examples of a coordinated production of charter and codex may well be veiled by the difficulty of dating codices as precisely as charters.³⁴

³⁰ See above, p. 108 and notes 26–27.

³¹ I take this definition of 'deliberate' conservation from Morelle, 'Metamorphosis', p. 172. Morelle considers deliberate conservation not common in the Middle Ages, but see note 34 below.

³² This example from Echternach would be a very different model from the 'recycling' of parchment discussed by Morelle in his study of the charters of Saint-Amand, where the charter collection was cannibalized to bind and cover new manuscripts; 'Metamorphosis', p. 183.

³³ The archives of Echternach were also scattered after the French Revolution. They are dispersed in Luxembourg, Trier, and Marburg. About one dozen original Carolingian and Ottonian diplomas have been safeguarded; much rarer are original private documents (Gasnault, 'Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 52). There has been no large-scale study of these documents since Wampach's work.

³⁴ A case similar to that of the Echternach charter may be one part of the chirograph of Abbot Hugo I of Saint-Amand from 1087 which was used as a flyleaf for a copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* dated (script and binding) to the twelfth century. The other part of the chirograph was kept in the charter collection. The 'sacrifice' of the document was of no real significance, in Morelle's

The identity of the donors and the nature of the charter may also have influenced its preservation in the codex, a point that has not been considered so far. Sigefrithus I (or 'the Elder'), who completed the transformation of a local Lotharingian dynasty into the house of Luxembourg, and his wealthy wife Hathawiga, who belonged to the high Frankish aristocracy, had long-established bonds with Willibrord's monastery.³⁵ As was generally true of the local aristocracies that emerged in post-Carolingian Europe, the family of Sigefrithus was embedded in the region that formed its power base.³⁶ A member of the Ardenne family clan, Sigefrithus built the fortress of Luxembourg, with the attached collegiate church of Saint-Sauveur, around which grew a prosperous market town. He appears in the historical sources from 963 consistently as a member of the emperor's entourage.³⁷

estimation ('Metamorphosis', pp. 183–84), but this would have to be not because the 'other part' was kept in the archives, but because the copy in the book could still be consulted (as in the case of the Echternach charter). Also at Saint-Amand, a document of 1105 was used as a flyleaf of a manuscript comprising the works of Lactantius, first copied in the ninth century but completed in the twelfth century, when it was bound (*ibid.*, p. 180 and n. 27). It is assumed by Morelle that this is a case of later recycling, but only a precise dating of the codex could eliminate the possibility that the binding of the book and the writing of the charter were coordinated. Morelle does not entertain the notion of intended conservation in the preservation of charters. Another example may be the refoundation charter of King Edgar to New Minster, Winchester in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A VIII (Joseph Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum* (London: L. Hansard, 1802), p. 435).

³⁵ For Sigefrithus, see Uhlirz, 'Die ersten Grafen', which corrects Wampach's discussion; Michel Margue, 'Sigefroid', in *Nouvelle biographie nationale* (Brussels: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1994), III, 295–300; Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.1, 214–17; and Jean Schroeder, 'Le Comte Sigefroid de Luxembourg et la réforme de l'abbaye d'Echternach (973)', *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 95 (1981), 283–98. Sigefrithus I had a son of the same name, Sigefrithus II (fl. 980s), which has resulted in some mistaken attributions (including marriage to Hathawiga). That Gasnault was unaware of Uhlirz's article is reflected in his statement that it was not yet clear whether there had been one or two counts by the name of Sigefrithus ('Deux chartes de l'abbaye d'Echternach', p. 53 and n. 2). For Lotharingia during this period, see Michael Parisse, 'Lotharingia', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III: c. 900–c. 1024, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 310–27.

³⁶ For a discussion of this view, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 49–50.

³⁷ Margue, 'Sigefroid', p. 298. The most important example of Sigefrithus's loyalty was his support of the Empress Theophanu and the young Otto III during the invasion of Lotharingia by Lothair, the king of West Francia, after the death of Otto II in 983. Margue sees Sigefrithus as a

He had been endowed by Otto I with the advocacy of the important monastery of St Maximin of Trier, which became the centre for the region's monastic reform in the second half of the tenth century. And at around the same time, in the middle of the century, Sigefrithus was appointed by the Emperor as lay abbot of Echternach, succeeding Dukes Giselbert of Lotharingia and Hermann of Swabia. Sigefrithus himself summarized his relationship with Echternach in a document issued in 992, when he was more than seventy years old, and whose autobiographical language is moving and evocative even today, more than a millennium later. Sigefrithus recalls how, after being raised to the office of count, he had received the abbey of St Willibrord by royal gift, how he held it for many years, until, at his initiative and request, Emperor Otto I instituted as Abbot of Echternach Ravanger, a monk who came from St Maximin with forty brothers and restored monastic rule in Willibrord's abbey. Sigefrithus also remembers in this document his early donation of a vineyard next to the Sauer River for the alimony of the twelve poor men ('elemosinarii') who prayed for the salvation of his soul while he held the abbey as a benefice, and of a mill and other donations, which he transferred to the monks who resettled the abbey in 973.³⁸ Hathawiga, who married Sigefrithus

functionary of the Empire and concludes that most of Sigefrithus's substantial possessions were accrued through his own agency and were not inherited from his family; *ibid.*, p. 297.

³⁸ This document is a confirmation of Sigefrithus's various donations to the twelve 'elemosinarii'. It begins with a historical overview of the institution of the twelve 'elemosinarii', modelled after the twelve apostles, and instituted by Willibrord himself who chose twelve poor men just as Christ had chosen twelve disciples. Wampach takes the presence of the 'elemosinarii' to suggest that there was a hospice at Willibrord's monastery (this charter contains the only mention of this institution at Echternach). Sigefrithus then continues 'Hec ego Sigefridus licet indignus, honore tamen comitis sublimatus, considerans, dum ex regia datione abbaciam Sancti Willibrordi pro beneficio suscepissem eamque per multos annos potestative direxissem pro salute anime mee cogitavi aliquid illis tribuere, unde victus possent habere. Denique tunc cum consilio fratrum ac totius familie petivi clementiam dominantissimi regis Ottonis, humiliter petens, ut mihi liceret de eadem abbacia quidquam dono perpetuo eis largiri. Quod sua misericordia ita consensit fieri. Postea itaque vocavi supradictos pauperes, qui vulgo miselli nuncupantur, et tradidi eis unam vineam citra Suram iuxta monasterium s Willibrordi in elemosinam Dei omnipotentis et s Petri principis apostolorum et omnium sanctorum. Subsequenti item tempore cum meo instinctu et rogatu prefatus imperator Otto pro restauratione monastice vite abbatem Ravangerum eidem ecclesie s Willibrordi prefecisset, ipse [ipsi *Wampach*] venerabilis abbas una mecum memoratis fratribus de parte ecclesie molendinum unum [...] tradidit' (I, Sigefrithus, although unworthy, having been raised to the honour of count, considering these things, while I had received the Abbey of St Willibrord as a benefice by royal donation, and while I had ruled it for many years, decided for the salvation of my soul to give them something whence they might have sustenance. Finally then with

c. 955, appears at her husband's side in several documents, as she does at the dedication of the palace church in Luxembourg in 987, and in 993 when together they make a gift to the abbey of St Maximin in Trier for their and all their numerous children's burial near the church's altar of St Clement.³⁹

The 997 donation to Echternach includes details that reveal that the motives behind Sigefrithus's and Hathawiga's generosity were similar to those expressed in the earlier documents. The charter begins by quoting Scripture's teachings on the importance of almsgiving for the remission of sins, from Luke 11. 41, 'Facite elemosinam et omnia erunt munda vobis', and from Sirach, 'Sicut aqua extinguit ignem ita elemosina extinguit peccatum'.⁴⁰ Sigefrithus and Hathawiga declare that they not only listen with a faithful ear to the biblical injunction, but also are moved to carry it out in practice through this gift. Their statement implies that the gift of land to Echternach is almsgiving, which will offer intercession for their sins.⁴¹ The gift is being made to St Willibrord 'who rests in Echternach'. Perhaps the specific

the advice of the monks and the entire *familia* I sought the clemency of the most powerful King Otto, humbly asking, that it might be allowed to me to grant them by perpetual gift something from the same abbey. And he agreed by his mercy that it be done. And thus afterwards I called together the abovementioned poor men, who are known commonly as 'the little poor ones' and I gave to them a vineyard beyond the river Sauer next to the monastery of St Willibrord as almsgivings for omnipotent God and St Peter prince of the Apostles and all saints. At a later time when at my instigation and request the abovementioned Emperor Otto had placed Abbot Ravanger in charge of the same church of St Willibrord for the restoration of monastic life, the same venerable abbot together with me [...] handed over [...] to the abovementioned brothers a mill from the church). Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, no. 178, pp. 282–83; I.1, 221; discussed also in Uhlirz, 'Die ersten Grafen', pp. 42–43, where Hathawiga's family background is also discussed.

³⁹ Uhlirz, 'Die ersten Grafen', p. 46. Sigefrithus and Hathawiga had at least six sons and four daughters, all of whom would be historically significant: Henry, for example, would become Duke of Bavaria; Thierry would become Bishop of Metz; and Cunegunde would be empress when her husband became Henry II.

⁴⁰ 'But give for alms those things which are within; and behold, everything is clean for you' (Luke 11. 41); 'As water extinguishes a blazing fire, so almsgiving atones for sin' (Sirach 3. 30). In the Latin Bible this is Sirach 3. 33; the charter, not surprisingly, does not quote the standard Vulgate text ('date elemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis'; 'ignem ardentem extinguit aqua et elemosyna resistit peccatis'). See Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 31–32, for the use of such biblical phrases.

⁴¹ Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 32–33, emphasizes how the giving of land to the Church as 'giving in alms' becomes characteristic of the middle Rhine valley, in which, however, he does not include Echternach, during the eighth century (his references on p. 33, n. 55 are to Wampach's document numbers, not to volume pages).

reference to the relics of Willibrord means that the donation charter was placed on Willibrord's shrine or on the church's altar during the liturgy.⁴² The charter may have been seen by the monks of Echternach as a mirror for patrons, a model to be followed and emulated by Sigefrithus's successors.

The significance of the gift is also to be considered. Monnerich, the 'praedium Munderchinga', had been held by Sigefrithus and his ancestors as a royal gift.⁴³ The charter lists in detail its holdings, including a church and other buildings, meadows and forests, waters and mills, and other income-producing emoluments. The value and importance of the gift may also have caused the community to wish to preserve the charter in a more protected environment.

The charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga reflects the great change in charter writing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when, as a result of the monastic reform movement, monastic scribes abandoned earlier, rigid formulas to include details that turned charters into narrative documents and could be tailored to reflect the preoccupations of the immediate community.⁴⁴ This charter certainly attests to the importance of the donation in establishing the social and religious network of the abbey and the count. Sigefrithus was, in a very real sense, a second founder through his role in the re-establishment of monastic observance in 973 by Otto I, 'hortatu ergo venerandi comitis Sigifridi fidelis nostri' (at the exhortation of our venerable faithful Count Sigefrithus). Sigefrithus's role as instigator of the

⁴² See Innes, *State and Society*, p. 31 and n. 50, for such practice. Willibrord was venerated as a saint even in his lifetime. He had first been buried underground, but by the middle of the eighth century his relics were moved into a raised shrine in the Carolingian church's crypt, which became a *confessio* for the veneration of the Echternach saints. When the new basilica was built in 1031, the relics were translated to the choir (Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 266–67; Henri Trauffer, 'Die Gründung des Klosters', in *Die Abtei Echternach*, ed. by Ferrari, Schroeder, and Trauffer, pp. 47–52).

⁴³ For the possessions of Sigefrithus, see Paul Margue, 'Les Biens du comte Sigefroid', *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut grand-ducal de Luxembourg*, 95 (1981), 299–310.

⁴⁴ Diplomats speak of a 'mutation documentaire' in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. According to these developments, the rigid and simple framework of older documents was abandoned, and charters included biographical details about the donors and imputed specific motives to their actions. At the same time, monastic scribes took control of the drafting of documents away from secular scribes (Georges Declercq, 'Origins and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word*, ed. by Heidecker, pp. 147–70 (pp. 165–66)). Innes, *State and Society*, p. 33, points out that these phrases are formulaic and stereotypical, yet that they reflect a pervasive concern about redemption and must be taken seriously because they influenced actions.

reform and his links to Ravanger are repeated in the abbot's epitaph.⁴⁵ Similarly, it is 'ob interventum fidelis nostri Sigifridi comitis' that Otto III grants to Ravanger the right to coin money in 992.⁴⁶ Indeed, the Count remained bound to the abbey of Echternach as its 'advocatus'.⁴⁷ Sigefrithus represented local public authority, responsible for all the great imperial diplomas granted to the abbey.⁴⁸ But what is most striking about the charter is its enunciation of Sigefrithus's personal, immediate preoccupations, which are closely echoed in the series of documents issued before, at the turn of the millennium, as the Count was approaching the end of his long life. These are the same preoccupations which are transmitted in his own tomb's epitaph.⁴⁹ These documents reflect the actions of a man who believes he is at the end of his earthly life and who is making preparation for his death, for the proper burial of his body, and for the salvation of his immortal soul. We may speculate with a great degree of probability that the charter of the donation of Monnerich to Echternach may have been the last document Sigefrithus issued, for there is no trace left of any subsequent document, and his death is placed in 998.

⁴⁵ 'Abt Ravinger von Echternach', ed. by Karl Strecher, MGH, *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, 5, 2 vols (Munich: MGH, 1937–79), I, 315: 'Hac recubant fossa Ravingeri patris ossa / Et fiunt hominis lege soluta cinis. / Hunc Otto primus transmisit Caesar opimus / Sifridi monitis egregii comitis.' (In this grave lie the bones of Abbot Ravanger / and become loose ash according to the law for man. / Otto I, the noble emperor, sent this one / according to the admonitions of the honourable Count Sigefrithus). Strecker's sources for the tomb epitaphs contained in this volume are several manuscripts of the *Origines et annales coenobii D. Maximini Treviris*, an unpublished work of Alexandre Wiltheim (1604–84), who collected much epigraphic and similar materials. Schroeder wants to minimize the importance of Sigefrithus in the reform and maximize the role of the Emperor. It seems to me too specious a distinction.

⁴⁶ Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, no. 177 (p. 281).

⁴⁷ Sigefrithus is thus described in Otto III's confirmation of the donation of Monnerich: 'Petiit etiam nos comes Sigifrithus supradicti monasterii advocatus' (Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, no. 181 (pp. 289–90)).

⁴⁸ Schroeder, 'Le Comte Sigefroid', p. 295; Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, nos 175, 177, 179–81 (pp. 275–90).

⁴⁹ What is described as his tomb epitaph echoes such concerns: the poem emphasizes his noble lineage ('Ob culmen generis quondam non infimus orbis'; Because of the prominence of his family once not the least in the world), his preoccupation with sin and his buried body's decay ('Coeno sordidior nunc malefacta queror'; Now more foul than mud I lament my misdeeds), and the hope for God's forgiveness and eternal rest in the heavenly Jerusalem ('Ut mihi parcendo tribuens veniam Sigifrido / Pacis Ierusalem transferat in requiem'; So that by his mercy granting me forgiveness, he may transfer me to the rest of the peace of Jerusalem). See 'Graf Sigfrid von Luxemburg', ed. by Karl Strecher, MGH, *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, 5, 2 vols (Munich: MGH, 1937–79), I, 316.

Not only the identity of its donor and his relationship to Echternach, but perhaps also its timing may have contributed to the exceptional protection extended to it by the monks of Willibrord's abbey. The monks of Echternach remembered Sigefrithus and his family in the liturgy on the anniversary of their deaths.⁵⁰ The monks who laboured in Echternach's scriptorium and who, at least in part, had come from St Maximin at Sigefrithus's command may have also preserved the charter *in memoria* of their founder.

It is curious that a 'liberal arts book', a school book, not a more elaborate liturgical book, was chosen to enclose the remarkable charter. It might have been simply a case of matching size, or the serendipity of contemporaneous production, a symbiotic joining, as I have suggested above. On the other hand, the charter could have been seen as a stylistic and formal model, an example, perhaps, to illustrate the proper use of rhetorical ornamentation in similar documents.⁵¹ A reading of the charter in comparison with the group of Echternach documents I have surveyed shows that the charter of Sigefrithus uses more ornamented language than most private charters. Its use of biblical quotations appears unusual. Only two other documents make use of a biblical citation.⁵² One is a donation of land to Willibrord's abbey by a man called Guntram and his wife Kunigundis written between 1084 and 1106, which contains the same citation from Luke as the charter of Sigefrithus in the opening lines:

⁵⁰ Sigefrithus, whose death is put in 998 by Margue ('Sigefroid', p. 295), appears under 'V Kal. Nov.' (28 October) in the first necrology of Echternach: Ernst Sackur, 'Handschriften aus Frankreich', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 15 (1890), 103–39 (p. 136). See also Margue, 'Sigefroid', p. 299; Uhlirz, 'Die ersten Grafen', pp. 49–50. It is significant that Sigefrithus chose to be buried at St Maximin (where his older brother was buried) and not at his own foundation of Saint-Sauveur in Luxembourg.

⁵¹ I dismiss here as farfetched the link between Sigefrithus, Gerbert of Aurillac, and Echternach's scriptorium programme of the late tenth century, which has been suggested by Schroeder ('Le Comte Sigefroid', pp. 295–96) and Margue ('Sigefroid', pp. 298–99) as a way of explaining the great emphasis on the copying of liberal arts books in newly re-established Echternach. It is true that both Sigefrithus and his son by the same name appear in Gerbert's correspondence, and precisely in letters written during Lothair's invasion of Lotharingia, in which Gerbert played an important role as peacemaker, and that Gerbert probably knew both father and son. But certainly it is difficult to accept without any ulterior evidence that Sigefrithus took part in Otto I's third expedition to Italy (966–73), where he met Gerbert, who was asked by Sigefrithus, as a result of the strong links forged there, to provide the monks of Echternach with the books which would serve as copying models. For the letters of Gerbert, see also Uhlirz, 'Die ersten Grafen', pp. 40–42. See above, Chapter 2, for the scriptorium of Echternach at this time.

⁵² Wampach, *Geschichte*, 1.2, nos 181 (pp. 288–90) and 199 (pp. 327–28).

Dominus Deus et redemptor omnium Dei Patris Filius in evangelio suo nos ammonet dicens: *Date elemosinam et hec orabit pro vobis et omnia munda sunt vobis.*

Hoc, Deo inspirante, ego Gundtramnus perpendens, duxi in animo meo, instigante me crebro hortamine contectalis mee Cunigunde, qualiter Deum et sanctos eius a me miserabiliter offensos potuissem efficere placatos, decrevimus [. . .].

[The lord God and the Son of God the Father redeemer of all admonishes us in the Gospel saying: *Give alms and they will pray for you and everything is clean for you.* By God's inspiration, I, Guntram considering this decided in my heart, with the constant encouragement of my wife Kunigundis, how I might placate God and his saints who had been offended by me, and decreed [. . .].]

We can note that, in comparison with the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga, the quotation in the charter of Guntram and Kunigundis is less accurately rendered and its meaning not as fully explicated or developed. In addition, the opening of Sigefrithus's charter adopts a more complex syntactical construction than that of Guntram, a difference that is noticeable throughout the text. The language of the charter of Sigefrithus is perhaps closer to the other charter that uses a biblical quote, a donation of lands to the abbey by Emperor Otto III on 14 October 997. Here, the biblical phrase is accurately rendered and its meaning fully explicated:

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis.

Otto divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator augustus.

Si fidelium nostrorum petitionibus quorumlibet obsecundantes nosque horum scilicet adprime necessitudini subrogantes, quos specialius ac devotius in divino cultu sollicitos ac promptos perspexerimus, ut apostolica monet sententia huiusmodi nos instituens: *Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei* [Galatians 6. 10].

[In the name of the holy and individual Trinity.

Otto by the favour of divine clemency august emperor of the Romans. If, granting the petitions of some of our faithful ones and fulfilling the needs first of those whom we saw more particularly and more devotedly solicitous and prompt in the divine cult, as the apostolic saying admonishes us teaching us in this way: *So then, as we have opportunity, let us do good to all men, and especially to those who are of the household of faith.*]

The charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga shows also other attempts at modest rhetorical artifice, including the use of rhyme and assonance at the long conclusion:

Tam in mancipiis quam in edificiis
 Terris cultis et incultis
 Pratis pascuis siluis
 Aquis aquarumve decursibus
 Molendinis mobilibus scilicet et immobilibus
 Exitibus et reditibus

Quesitis et inquirendis
 Ut absque ullius contradictione
 Iure perpetuo teneant et possideant
 Ea siquidem condictione
 Ut nostris utilitatibus quousque uixerimus cedat
 Et postea plena et perfecta possessione
 Ad prescriptum coenobium appendeat

 [Both in properties and in buildings
 In cultivated and uncultivated lands
 In fields pastures forests
 In waters and the channels of waters
 In moving and non-moving mills
 In expenses and revenues
 Both that have been requisitioned and are still to be requisitioned
 So that without anybody's contradiction
 They may hold it and possess it by eternal right
 On that condition
 That it may yield to our needs for as long as we live
 And afterwards by full and perfect possession
 It may belong to the above-written monastery.]

The use of rhyme in this passage is comparable to that of a petition written by Thiofrid to Emperor Henry IV in 1101, but perhaps is not as extensive as the usage found in other documents analysed by Wampach.⁵³ It is important to note, however, the careful construction of the passage above. The first three lines (in my presentation) repeat consistently the syllable *-is* at the end of each line and even within the line. The next four lines alternate between words ending in *-is* and *-ibus*. All these words are ablatives. The last six lines instead are grouped two by two, where the rhyme alternates and the sense of each first line is resolved in the second. Even more clearly noticeable is the use of assonance ('*pratis pascuis silvis*'; '*molendinis mobilibus*'; '*postea plena et perfecta possessione*'). These characteristics of rhyme and assonance are found particularly in documents from the tenth and eleventh centuries and were meant not only to adorn charters, but also to make them more pleasant to the hearers and more easily understood. Surviving documents show that such artifices were indeed pursued in Echternach's scriptorium. The use

⁵³ No. 200 in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 329–30, where rhyme is not found throughout the document but only in some sections. This document also cites Horace, *Carmina* I. 1. 2 ('*O et praesidium et dulce decus meum*'). Cf., by contrast, no. 201 (pp. 330–32), which uses rhyme throughout the document. Wampach did not note rhyme in the charter of Sigefrithus, as he does in other documents where he employs spacing to indicate rhyme.

of adornment in the preamble and in the conclusion of the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga may therefore have been yet another reason for its inclusion in a book which was meant particularly for schoolmasters, as will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Sigefrithus and Hathawiga enriched the abbey with the donation of Monnerich for the salvation of their immortal souls. The preservation of their memory in perpetuity not only in the liturgy but also through the actual record of their gift might have been seen quite naturally as a duty by the monks of Echternach at the turn of the millennium.⁵⁴ When at the turn of the thirteenth century the cartulary of the monastery, Echternach's *Liber Aureus*, was compiled by the monk Theodericus, the source he used from which to make a copy for his collection was most likely the charter bound in the codex of school texts. Many original documents, whether through deliberate destruction or negligence, were lost as they were no longer needed, since the monastic community now possessed a handy record of its past in Theodericus's compilation. The charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga, however, survived.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The deacon Cozroh who compiled the charter collection for the monastery of Fulda under Bishop Hitto (811–35) summarized this duty 'so that the memory of those might remain in perpetuity who had enriched this house with their property and had made it their heirs, or who had handed over and given anything for the salvation of their souls to this house'. See Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 94–95, whose translation I modify slightly.

⁵⁵ In general, if a copy of a charter exists in a cartulary, the original has not survived, and vice versa: Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies', p. 149.

THE POEMS AND THE GLOSSES: EDITION AND TRANSLATION

The charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga remained undisturbed for eight hundred years in Echternach's library, protected by the cover of its container codex. During this time, however, the book did not lie unused. The last blank page of the charter bifolium, glued down onto the board of the back cover of BnF, MS lat. 10195, remained blank. But the first blank page that served as flyleaf provided a large, inviting surface on which, in the second half of the eleventh century, two poems were inscribed by two different hands. The writing of these two poems represents a second stage of scribal work on this codex, undertaken after the completion of the writing of the codex proper and its binding.¹ The third layer of scribal work, the insertion of verbal and musical glosses, on the other hand, encompassed both the texts in the codex proper and the flyleaf and sheds light on how these poetic compositions were read by the Echternach masters, discussed below in Chapter 7.

While the first poem can be read clearly, the corrosion holes caused by the clasps of the original binding of the manuscript, now BnF, MS lat. 10195, render the second text more difficult to decipher. The musical notes also are barely legible or even illegible in several places. The page has also been discoloured and spotted, but no acid was used on this side (the same cannot be said for the inside bifolium containing the charter, as discussed in the previous chapter).

¹ It is highly unlikely that the poems were written on the back of the charter while it was still a loose sheet. We should assume, in this case, that the book remained unbound for about three-quarters of a century. Also, the poems were glossed as part of the glossing of the text in the codex proper, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. Finally, we would have to ask why nothing was written on the last page.

The poems are carefully arranged on the page, one on top of the other (Figure 15). 'Salve abba mitissime', at the top of the page, is laid out in three, equal, snaking columns of thirty-six lines, each beginning with a small capital. There are a few corrections (noted in my edition) in the same ink, but it is impossible to tell if they were made by the poem's scribe himself.

The second poem, 'O sacrata dies' presents a different layout. It is arranged in fourteen long lines with a space in the middle of each line. Each of these lines consists of a couplet, or two verses, divided by the space in the middle. The lower part of this folio was pricked and ruled in preparation for the copying of 'O sacrata dies'. The second column was written so as to line up with the last column of the poem above.² Such careful mise en page speaks against the conclusion that the poems were scribbled casually or impulsively and without proper planning. On the contrary, the use of letter size, of spacing, and even of certain script conventions further explored below reveal a deliberate and skilled use of layout to convey the meaning of the poems, a kind of 'visual poetics'.

Each poem was written by a different scribe.³ This is clearly shown by close examination of the scripts, their characteristics, and the different use of script conventions in the two poems (such as the differentiation of letter forms when they are found at the end of words), more fluid in the first poem and more set in the second.⁴ The

² Pricking marks are clearly visible in the lower part; no such marks are visible for the top portion. A ruling line running along the right-hand central margin, to the side of the third column of 'Salve' and second column of 'O sacrata', is visible.

³ Pace Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 256.

⁴ The hands of the two poems are similar: the et-ligature (ampersand) is the same and is used also within and at the end of words; both hands write a capital M whose first hast has a downward-inside sloping foot (though more pronounced in 'O sacrata dies'); the r reaches below the line in both (but more so in 'Salve abba mitissime'). But they were written by different scribes as is shown in particular by the s: in 'O sacrata dies' a round s is found exclusively at the end of the line, and both round and straight s's conform to the size of the other letters. In 'Salve abba mitissime', the use of round versus straight s is not consistent, and the round s in particular is much bigger than the other letters. Also, in 'Salve abba mitissime', straight and uncial d are used interchangeably; in 'O sacrata dies', there is only one example of uncial d, in ADAM (last line), a word that the scribe wanted to highlight by writing it in bigger letters, with the letters appearing as capitals. Also noteworthy is the use of capital M at the end of line in 'O sacrata dies'. The use of the round s in 'O sacrata dies' is particularly significant. While palaeographers have noted the appearance of round s in the eleventh century (Elias Avery Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd edn, prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, Sussidi eruditi, 33–34, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980), I, 138), I have not been able to find another case of the use of round s exclusively at the end of verse lines, except for comparable instances in other Echternach and Trier manuscripts. Gerbert of Aurillac's poem to Boethius copied on the Echternach

scribe who copied 'Salve abba mitissime' is not the recognized glossator of liberal arts manuscripts, active around the middle of the eleventh century, known as Anonymous X in Schroeder's nomenclature.⁵ This principal claim was made by the

manuscript now in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694, fol. 117^v (reproduced in Olivier Guyotjeannin and Emmanuel Poulle, *Autour de Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil: album de documents commentés* (Paris: École des Chartes, 1996), p. 296), uses tall s both within and at the end of lines, except that the scribe uses a round s twice, both times at the end of a verse line. While the manuscript is dated to the last quarter of the tenth century, the poem may be a later addition (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 510). Similarly, Plate CXXXV in Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, from Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9345 (fol. 129^v, containing Juvenal 6. 64–7. 10) uses round s at the end of the verse line in the majority of cases. This manuscript was copied between 970 and 990 at St Maximin's in Trier or at Echternach by scribes trained in Trier (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 484). This use of a round s may represent a local scribal custom, imported to Echternach from Trier, perhaps.

⁵ Schroeder's statement was already doubted by Ferrari who pointed out that Schroeder collapsed several glossing hands into one (see above, Chapter 1, note 18). This is confirmed by my study. Schroeder's *Bibliothek und Schule* illustrates the hand of the Anonymous X by two plates (Plates 8 from Gotha, Memb. I 103, fol. 24^v; and 9 from Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694, fol. 114^v). Schroeder also claims that the Anonymous X can be seen on Chatelain's Plate LIII, from BnF, MS lat. 10195, fol. 55^v. (I assume that Schroeder meant the inside top margin of Chatelain's Plate LIII, for there is a gloss in the outside top margin by yet another, and quite dissimilar, hand.) I believe that these are three different hands, not one, and none of these glossing hands wrote 'Salve'. The hand in Schroeder's Plate 8 and the one writing the gloss in Chatelain's Plate LIII are similar, but the one in Schroeder's Plate 8 used only straight d's, while the hand in Chatelain wrote both uncial and straight d's. The hand in Schroeder's Plate 9 has taller extenders and has a more elongated look than either of the other two. It is particularly important to note that Schroeder dated the activity of Anonymous X by the gloss reproduced in his Plate 9, which refers to the current year as 1049, and which in fact dates only this glossing hand. The glossator in Schroeder's Plate 9 (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694, fol. 114^v) is not the same hand that wrote 'Salve'. See, for example, the absence of uncial d (except in the 'Greek' capital 'Dionisium') and the very distinctive ct ligature, not found in our poem (cf. 2.3 'doctrina'). Nor can the hand that is reproduced in Schroeder's Plate 8 (Gotha, Memb. I 103, fol. 24^v) be assigned to 'Salve' for, in addition to the very different look of the script, this glossator wrote no uncial d. The glossing hand in Chatelain's Plate LIII is particularly important to us because this plate reproduces fol. 55^v of MS lat. 10195, the codex whose binding contains the charter. This glossing hand (upper inside margin) is characterized by a tall 's' with a broad and open top hook, by the use of both straight and uncial d, and by an r that reaches below the line. Some of these characteristics would also fit the hand of 'Salve', particularly the use of both forms of d; but the s is very different in 'Salve', as is the st ligature. Also, in 'Salve' the script is less regular and controlled. I call the hand in Chatelain, Plate LIII the Servius-hand, for this scribe inserted many glosses from Servius in the text of Sallust. Another hand can be seen on the Chatelain plate writing the 'Nota' gloss in the upper left-hand corner, and most likely also the 'Lictores' gloss in the bottom margin. I come back to the glossing hands of MS lat. 10195 in Chapter 7 below.



Figure 15. The two poems. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9488, fol. 77r. Reproduced with permission.

Luxembourg scholar as part of his argument to assign the authorship of the poem to Thiofrid of Echternach. In contrast, as I will further discuss in my chapter on glossing, I have found neither of the two hands that wrote the poems among the scribes and glossators of MS lat. 10195. This is important, for, added to the formality of the poems' script, layout, and page preparation, it supports my view that the poems were not casual additions, which could have been the case if a glossing hand had copied them.

Below, I provide the text of each poem and of the glosses, and their translation. There S. J. Barrett's edition of the musical glosses is included. I discuss each poem in the following chapters.

Salue abba mitissime⁶

Salue abba mitissime
Paterno dignus^a nomine
Saluet te pater celicus
Quo nichil est prestantius.

Optantes hoc filioli
Dulciter a te aliti
Quos et doctrina instruis
Et alimento reficis.

Solido pane roboras⁷
Et uino cor exilaras
Si festa dies agitur
Vinum melli confunditur.

Hinc deo laudem pangimus
Qui bonis replet omnibus⁸
Et ne^b uox fiat raucida
Primo tinguamus guttura

⁶ My edition of the poem follows the manuscript, apart from the differences noted. I also record scribal corrections and Bischoff's single variant reading (see note 4 of the Introduction). The scribe did not spell out diphthongs, except in a few cases where an e-caudata was used for the first declension genitive singular. I have used the diphthong in these cases. There is no punctuation in the manuscript.

⁷ Cf. Hebrews 5. 12–14 ('et factis estis quibus lacte opus sit non solido cibo [...] perfectorum autem est solidus cibus') and Psalm 103. 15 iuxta hebraicum ('et vinum laetificat cor hominis / ad exhilarandam faciem oleo / panis autem cor hominis roborat').

⁸ Cf. Tobit 12. 3: 'bonis omnibus per eum repleti sumus'.

Se panem uiuum⁹ prebuit
 Ob hoc celo desiluit¹⁰
 Sensus scripturae mysticus
 Nobis est panis solidus.

Ipse fons sic clamauerat
 Qui sitit ad me ueniat¹¹
 Sensus scripturae facilis
 Quasi potus est sciolis.

Distillant^c fauum labia¹²
 Mel atque lac sub ligula^d
 Quam dulcia eloquia
 Ori super mel suaui.

Caueamus dulcissimum
 Exacerbare dominum
 Ne irae¹³ ^e suae calicem
 Super nos fundat uindicem.

Set poculo inebriet^f
 Quod David clarum perhibet
 Quo signatur paraclytus
 Patris et nati spiritus.

^a digno *Bischoff* ^b ne *add. supra lineam MS* ^c *corr. ex distillans MS* ^d *corr. ex liguta*
MS ^e *ire MS* ^f *corr. ex imbriet MS*

[1. Hail, most kindly abbot
 Worthy of the name of Father
 May the celestial father keep you
 Than whom nothing is superior.

2. Your little sons — who desire this
 Who are sweetly nourished by you
 Whom you instruct with teaching
 And refresh with nourishment —

3. You strengthen with solid bread
 And their hearts you gladden with wine
 Wine that on a feast day
 Is mixed with honey.

⁹ Cf. John 6. 51: 'Ego sum panis vivus.'

¹⁰ Cf. John 6. 59: 'Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit.'

¹¹ Cf. John 6. 35: 'qui veniet ad me non esuriet / et qui credit in me non sitiet umquam'.

¹² Cf. Song of Songs 4. 11: 'fauis distillans labia tua sponsa / mel et lac sub lingua tua'.

¹³ Cf. Isaiah 51. 17: 'bibisti de manu Domini calicem irae eius'.

4. Hence we sing praise to the Lord
Who fills [men] with all good things
And, lest the voice become hoarse,
Let us first wet our throat.

5. He offered himself as living bread
For this he descended from heaven
The mystical sense of Scripture
Is solid bread to us.

6. He himself, the fount, thus had exclaimed
'Let those who thirst come to me'
The simple sense of Scripture
Is like a drink to learners.

7. The lips distill the honeycomb
Honey and milk under the tongue
What sweet utterances
More delightful than honey.

8. Let us mind not to anger
The most kindly Lord
Lest he pour the vengeful cup
Of his wrath over us.

9. But let him inebriate [us] with the cup,
That clear cup that David offers
By which the Paraclete, the Spirit
Of the Father and the Son, is signified.]

O sacra dies¹⁴

1. O sacra dies sacra nocte renides
Tempora tu uarias¹⁵ nocte diem reparas.

2. Prima dies oritur¹⁶ cum mundus luce potitur
Inuida mors premitur prima dies oritur.

¹⁴ I adhere closely to the manuscript in the edition of this poem, although I have numbered the couplets for ease of cross-reference, and I italicize some letters in lines 1, 5, and 21 that are no longer visible in the manuscript, even under ultraviolet light, because of the wear in the parchment. I include textual observations and references to authorities in the footnotes; the edition of the glosses follows.

¹⁵ Cf. Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium tractatus*, XLV, 9, ed. by Radbodus Willems, CCSL, 36 (1954), p. 392: 'Tempora variata sunt, non fides.'

¹⁶ Although *orior* is a fourth-conjugation verb, the present indicative (and other tenses) follows the third conjugation, making the *i* of *oritur* short, as is required by the metre.

3. Dicitur a domino quod *consurrexit*¹⁷ ab imo
Gloria surge cito¹⁸ dicitur a domino.
4. Mors tua morsus ero¹⁹ captiuos uictor habebo
Partiar²⁰ inque duo²¹ mors tua morsus ero.
5. Hostia sancta patris²² natus decernitur aris
Plecteris et moreris hostia sancta patris.
6. Prima salus populi cum sanguis funditur agni²³
Cum tuus,²⁴ agne dei, prima salus populi.
7. Praenotat hic²⁵ uitulum meruit quem natus in aesum²⁶
Se dedit esse cibum praenotat hic uitulum.
8. Suscitāt exanimem²⁷ sed longe mortuus idem
Innumeros cineres suscitāt exanimēs.

¹⁷ A hole in the parchment has obliterated the writing. The partly visible letter after *con* appears to be an s; at the other end of the hole, there appears to be the remnant of an x followed by an et ligature. Hence my suggestion of *consurrexit*, which fits the metrical requirements.

¹⁸ Cf. Psalm 56. 9: 'Exsurge, gloria mea.'

¹⁹ Cf. Hosea 13. 14: 'Ero mors tua o mors ero morsus tuus inferne.'

²⁰ See below for my reading of this hemistich. For *partior* as a variant of *partio*, see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *partio*.

²¹ The poet's prosodical practice includes the lengthening of a final short syllable before the penthemimeral caesura of the hexameter (as in *petit* of line 19) and at diaeresis in the pentameter, as here, both common features of medieval Latin verse.

²² Cf. Sedulius 1. 17 (ed. by Huemer, p. 156: 'Hostia summa Patris') and Hrabanus 16. 25 (ed. by Dümmler, p. 179: 'Hostia grata patris') where the image of Isaac as a Christ figure is portrayed in very similar language.

²³ The liberation of the Israelites in Exodus 12 is also used in Sedulius 1. 25 (ed. by Huemer, p. 157: 'Agnus ab hoste sacer reuocauit sanguine patres: sanguine nosque refert agnus ab hoste sacer') and Hrabanus 16. 35 (ed. by Dümmler, p. 179: 'Agnus ab hoste sacer redemit in sanguine patres: Nosque cruore tulit agnus ab hoste sacer').

²⁴ *Sanguis funditur* must be understood as applying to the second line as well as to the first.

²⁵ That is, the Evangelist Luke, whose attribute the calf symbolizes the Passion of Christ in medieval art (Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, 3 vols (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955–59), III, 829), as well as in biblical exegesis. See further Chapter 6 below.

²⁶ Cf. Luke 15. 23–24, the parable of the prodigal son. *Aesum* is a variant spelling of *esum*.

²⁷ Cf. IV Kings 20 where the cadaver thrown in Elisha's grave is raised through contact with Elisha's bones. This is the only couplet where the four-way rhyme is not maintained.

9. Tu leo christe dei requiescens accubuisti²⁸
Sonus inest uigili tu leo christe dei.

10. Viuit et alta petit²⁹ et adhuc in corpore degit
Est³⁰ erit atque fuit uiuit et alta petit.

11. Montis in alta subit *et Gaze*³¹ claustra refregit³²
Claustra stigis rapuit montis in alta subit.

12. Tendit in alta uolans uerbi secreta reportans
Cumque suis habitans tendit in alta uolans.

13. E superis ueniet de puluere quisque resurget
Iudicium repetet e superis ueniet.

14. Restituas patriam quam primus perdidit Adam³³
Poscimus alter Adam restituas patriam.

[1. O day sanctified, you shine from the sanctified night
You vary the times, you recover the day through this night.

2. The first day begins, when the world possesses light
Envious death is crushed, the first day begins.

3. It³⁴ is named after the Lord, because [on this day] he rose from the depths
'Glory, rise quickly' is said by the Lord.

4. I shall be your death, I shall be your bite; I a victor shall have captives
And I shall divide into two, I shall be your death, I shall be your bite.

5. A holy sacrifice of the father, the son is decreed for the altars
You will be tortured and you will die, holy sacrifice of the father.

6. The first salvation of the people [is] when the blood of the lamb is shed;
When, O lamb of God, yours is shed — the first salvation of the people.

²⁸ Cf. Genesis 49. 9 ('catulus leonis Iuda a praeda fili mi ascendisti requiescens accubuisti ut leo') and Psalm 101. 8 ('Vigilavi et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto').

²⁹ Cf. Genesis 5. 22–24 and Hebrews 11. 5 for the translation of Enoch, and see further below.

³⁰ Cf. Revelation 1. 18: 'et vivus et fui mortuus et ecce sum vivens in saecula saeculorum'.

³¹ The reconstruction of *Gaze* seems certain; but the addition of *et* is a conjecture, to fit the metre's requirement. Cf. *et adhuc* of previous couplet.

³² Cf. Samson in Judges 16. 1–3. Hrabanus 16. 81–82 (ed. by Dümmler, p. 180) also treats Samson, but very differently. See further below.

³³ The comparison in this couplet is a common one: just as the first Adam lost our fatherland to us, so the second Adam will restore it. Here again the spatial and metrical division that is observed in most of the poem breaks down, and the two elements of the comparison are mingled.

³⁴ That is, the 'dies dominicus'.

7. This one signifies the calf that the son was granted to eat,
He gave himself to be food, this one signifies the calf.
8. He raised a lifeless one, although he himself was long dead
He raises countless lifeless ashes.
9. O anointed of God, you lay down as a lion at rest
The sound is here for the one who awakes, O lion anointed of God.
10. He lives and he seeks the heights while still living in the body;
He is, shall be and was, he lives and he seeks the heights.
11. He goes into the heights of the mountain, he has smashed the enclosures of Gaza
He has snatched away the barriers of hell, he goes into the heights of the mountain.
12. He advances towards the heights flying, carrying back the secrets of the Word
Living with his own, he advances towards the heights flying.
13. He shall come from on high, everyone shall rise from the dust;
He will seek again judgement, he shall come from the heights.
14. May you restore our fatherland, which the first Adam lost;
We ask that you, the second Adam, restore our fatherland.]

Marginal Glosses

(I italicize letters that are no longer visible.)

1. *Inside margin:* there is no longer a gloss visible, but there might have been one, for there is an extremely faint trace of what may have been writing. On the other hand, cf. the example of the second and fourth couplets.
Outside margin: RESVRR
2. *Inside margin:* There appears never to have been a gloss.
Outside margin: RESURRECTIO
3. *Inside margin:* DOMENICUS
Outside margin: RESURR
4. *Inside margin:* There appears never to have been a gloss.
Outside margin: RESURR
5. *Inside margin:* ISAAC
Outside margin: PASSIO
6. *Inside margin:* AGNUS
Outside margin: PASSIO
7. *Inside margin:* LUCAS
Outside margin: PASSIO
8. *Inside margin:* HELISEUS
Outside margin: RESURR

9. *Inside margin:* MARCUS
Outside margin: PASS RES
10. *Inside margin:* ENOCH
Outside margin: ASCENSIO
11. *Inside margin:* SAMSON
Outside margin: ASCENSIO
12. *Inside margin:* IOHANNES
Outside margin: ASCENSIO
13. *Inside margin:* HELIAS
Outside margin: RESURR
14. There appears never to have been a gloss.

Interlinear Glosses

3. (above *a domino*) scilicet patre
6. (above first *populi*) id est Iudaici
(above the second *populi*) id est xpiani
7. (above *in aesum*) id est luxuriosus
8. (above *mortuus*) uel uates
11. (above *refregit*) uel uellit (I suggest that *euellit* was meant)

Edition of Musical Glosses, by S. J. Barrett

‘Salve Abba mitissime’

Notation

Dasian notation was used to record the two melodies added to this poem (stanzas 1 and 2), while the working out of the second melody in subsequent stanzas was indicated through neumatic notation. Neumes were also added between Dasian signs in the first stanza to indicate refinements in vocal delivery. A further set of neumes was placed in the margin alongside the first stanza: these have been transcribed immediately above the corresponding Dasian signs. The Dasian notation follows the system found in the *Enchiriadis* treatises. The neumatic notation is consistent with signs found in Echternach manuscripts, although there is a significant degree of variation, especially in the angles of the strokes of the *pes* or rising two-note sign, indicating a lower grade of script than commonly found in notated liturgical manuscripts. Alphabetic letters were also used on occasion in place of Dasian signs.

Music

Two melodic schemes were recorded: one for the first stanza, the second for all subsequent stanzas. The simplest explanation for this format is that a refrain structure was intended, with the first stanza repeated between subsequent stanzas and most probably repeated at the end. A contemporary model for this refrain structure is provided by the processional hymn.

Insofar as the marginal neumes added alongside the first stanza may be read, they accord with the melodic shape recorded in the Dasian notation. Neumes were added at two points amid the Dasian notation, that is, at *Sal(ue)* and *Pa(ter)*. In both cases the neumes indicate refinements in the vocal delivery that could not be signalled by Dasian signs; for an explanation of oriscus and liquescent signs, see the editorial note below. The melody recorded for the opening stanza accords with characteristics of the first mode and is in a simple hymnic style with a restricted range of a sixth and a mainly syllabic setting. The melodic shaping serves to parse the stanza into pairs of eight-syllable lines by balancing phrases and into individual lines through rhyming cadences.

While the melodic outline recorded for the second stanza in Dasian notation is followed in subsequent stanzas, departures in matters of detail may also be observed. The most striking difference between stanzas is the optional two-note rise

at the beginning, which is found only in stanzas two, eight, and nine. Where an oriscus is consistently signalled in the neumed stanzas, that is, at the first syllable of the second line and the sixth syllable of the third line, this has been added into the modern staff notation above the Dasian signs of the second stanza, which themselves do not indicate refinements of vocal delivery. At several points in the fourth line where Dasian signs are no longer visible (i.e. at the third, seventh, and eighth syllables), the melodic profile indicated in the neumed stanzas was used to reconstruct the melody given in the modern staff notation.

Other departures from the melody recorded in the Dasian signs are not included in the modern version. All the neumed stanzas indicate a higher pitch than previously at the fourth syllable of the first line: the most likely option at this point is *b flat* in distinction to the *a* recorded at this point in the first stanza. At the seventh syllable in the second line, all the neumed stanzas feature a two-note rise, in all probability *c–d*: a smudge at this point in the manuscript might obscure a Dasian sign for the low *c*, but only the securely visible sign for *d* is given in the version in staff notation. All neumed stanzas also appear to indicate a two-note descent at the fourth syllable in the fourth line. Given that an *i*, indicating *iusum* or *inferius* (i.e. ‘lower’), is aligned with the second pitch in the fourth stanza, it is most likely that the second pitch is an *f*.

‘O sacrata dies’

Notation

As for ‘Salve abba mitissime’, a combination of neumes, alphabetic notation and Dasian signs was used to record the melody. The use of pitch-specific notations suggests a didactic context for the recording and reception of both notated songs.

Music

Differing melodic shapes were recorded over the first and second stanzas. A range of performance possibilities might be inferred from this disposition, including a choice of melodies for the poem or alternating melodies to be sung throughout the song. Given the implications of the format recorded above for ‘Salve abba mitissime’, it is most likely that a refrain structure was also intended for ‘O sacrata dies’.

The melody displays characteristics of the fourth mode and is simple in style, featuring only one melisma at *(mun)dus*. *B flats* have been added in accordance with fourth mode practice in order to avoid augmented fourth leaps and contours in the melodic line. The melody for the first stanza is similar from the caesura

onwards in both lines: after an opening elaboration around *b flat–a–f*, a closed cadence follows circling around *f–e–d–e*. In the first halves of the line, the melodies follow contours that are mirror images of each other, both beginning on the final (*e*) and proceeding to an open cadence (on *f* or *d*). In the second stanza, both melodic lines start away from the final (on *g* and *a* respectively). After the caesura there is a return to the final: in the first line, this follows an elaboration around *a* and *f*; in the second line, the syllabic style and restriction to notes around the final underscores the cadence. The syllabic setting at this point also complements the parallelism in the text (*Prima dies oritur* / *prima dies oritur*) since syllabic melody is elsewhere associated with the first half of the line, while the second halves tend to be more expansive.

Editorial Note

Both songs have been transcribed into a layout that emphasizes melodic structure and allows vertical comparison between individual syllables. The pitches encoded by the Dasian signs have been converted into modern staff notation. Stemless noteheads have been used since the original notations do not convey systematic information about the length of individual notes. The oriscus sign, which suggests that some form of emphasis is to be imparted, has been indicated by means of a wavy line above the repeated pitch that constitutes the oriscus. Liquescent, which implies singing through a consonant and is commonly realized by gliding onto a lower passing note, has been indicated by means of a short descending slur from the original pitch.

The original folio is now extremely frail and faded. Transcriptions were made from the facsimile provided in *La Notation musicale des chants liturgiques latins*, ed. by Hourlier, Plate 39. A digital reproduction of the folio was also used to check individual details. Brackets have been placed above sections where the signs are barely visible and doubt remains over their transcription. At several points, such as for example in the marginal notation for ‘Salve abba mitissime’, it is hard to determine whether or not signs were copied. In general, caution has been exercised, with gaps left in the transcription where the presence of signs cannot be determined with any certainty. In transcribing the text, manuscript orthography has been retained but punctuation follows the edited text presented earlier in this volume.

Salve abba mitissime

Refrain

1. Sal - ve ab - ba mi - tis - si - me Pa - ter - no dig - nus no - mi - ne
 Sal - vet te pa - ter ce - li - cus Quo - nic - hil est pre - stan - ti - us.

Verses

2. Op - tan - tes hoc fi - li - o - li Dul - ci - ter a - li - ti
 3. So - li - do pa - tre ro - bo - ras Et vi - no cor - e - si - la - ras
 4. Hinc de - o lau - dem pan - gi - mus Qui bo - nis re - pler om - ni - bus
 5. Se pa - nem vi - vum pre - bu - it Ob hoc ce - lo de - si - la - it
 6. Ip - se fons sic - cla - ma - ve - rat Qui si - tit ad me ve - ni - at
 7. Du - til - laut fa - vum la - bi - a Mel - at - que lac sub li - gu - la
 8. Ca - ve - a - mus dul - cis - si - mum Ex - a - cer - ba - re do - mi - num
 9. Set po - cu - lo in - a - bri - et Quod Da - vid cla - ram per - hi - bet

2. Quo - et doc - tri - na in - stra - is Et a - li - men - to te - fi - cis.
 3. Si fes - ta di - es a - gi - tur Vi - num mel - li con - fan - di - tur.
 4. Et ne vox fi - at rau - ci - da Pri - mo tin - gua - mus gut - tu - ra.
 5. Sen - sus scrip - tu - rae my - sti - cis No - bis est pa - nis so - li - dos.
 6. Sen - sus scrip - tu - rae fa - ci - lia Qua - si po - tus est sci - o - lis.
 7. Quam dul - ci - a e - lo - qui - a O - ri su - per mel tua - vi - a.
 8. Ne i - rae na - ac ca - li - com Su - per nos fan - dat vin - di - com.
 9. Quo sig - na - tur pa - ra - cly - tus Pa - tris et na - ti spi - ri - tus.

Figure 16. 'Salve abba mitissime', music score, courtesy of S. J. Barrett.

O sacra ta dies

The musical score is written for two voices, likely Soprano and Alto, on two staves. The title 'O sacra ta dies' is centered above the first staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The music features a variety of note values including minims, crotchets, and quavers, with some notes beamed together. There are several rests and dynamic markings such as 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano). The lyrics are: 'Ter - ra - ra tu va - ri - as nosc - le di - em re - po - res. O sa - cra - ta di - es sa - cra - ta nosc - le re - ni - des. Pri - ma di - es o - ri - tar cum mu - dus lu - ce po - ti - tar. In - vi - da mors pre - mi - tar per - ma di - es o - ri - tar.

Figure 17. ‘O sacra ta dies’, music score, courtesy of S. J. Barrett.

‘SALUE ABBA MITISSIME’: TWO KINDS OF SPIRITUAL FOOD

The poem consists of nine stanzas of four lines in rhythmical iambic dimeter (or 8pp, an eight-syllable line ending with a proparoxitone word), the most common metre of Christian hymns, first popularized by Ambrose.¹ There is no elision; in the only verse where two vowels face each other, elision is not intended because of metrical requirements.² Rhyme is followed throughout (aabb). Although there are several instances of disyllabic rhymes, the majority are of one syllable. These metrical and rhyming characteristics reflect eleventh-century usage³ and confirm the date of composition assigned through script by Bernhard Bischoff, and by my codicological and scribal analysis of the poems (discussed in the previous chapter) and of the glosses (discussed in Chapter 7).

¹ See the detailed discussion of this metrical form in Dag Norberg, *Les Vers latins iambiques et trochaïques au moyen âge et leurs répliques rythmiques* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), pp. 48–65. The poem follows both the ‘regular’ (i.e. with a spondee at the beginning of the line) and ‘irregular’ (where the line begins with a first-syllable accented word) pattern of the rhythm in about equal proportion.

² v. 1: ‘Salue, abba’. The eight-syllable format forbids elision. It could be argued that the sense of the line also precludes elision.

³ Regular disyllabic rhymes do not occur until the eleventh century (A. G. Rigg, ‘Latin Meter’, in *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. by J. R. Strayer, 13 vols (New York: Scribner, 1982–89), VII, 371–76 (p. 372)). Fulbert of Chartres, who died in 1028, ‘the most important French hymnodist at the turn of the 11th century’, followed the same pattern in one of his most famous hymns, ‘Chorus novae Ierusalem / novam meli dulcedinem / promat colens cum sobriis / paschale festum gaudiis’ (Joseph Szövérfy, *A Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), p. 47).

The poem makes frequent use of monosyllables to balance the three- and four-syllable words that by necessity must occur at the end of each line to accommodate its proparoxitone ending.⁴ The ambiguous metrical value of monosyllables in effect allows the poet greater flexibility within the constraints of the metrical patterns and may speak to the poet's inexperience. The second stanza provides a good example of this practice. The first line can be read as made up of two equal parts, if one attaches 'hoc' to the first word ('Optántes hoc' = 4pp; 'filíoli' = 4pp). The resulting line follows the regular pattern (i.e. beginning with a spondee) of the metre, with diaeresis (i.e. division) in the middle of the line. In order that the second line fit one of the principal patterns of the metre, the two monosyllables ('a', 'te') at the centre must be joined together and the stress must be placed on the 'a' ('Dúlciter á te áli'ti'). The accentuation of the monosyllables at the beginning of the final two lines is less constrained. These lines could be read as metrical parallels, each beginning with a spondee ('quós ét doctrína ínstruis // et áliménto réficis'), or as following the pattern of the second line ('quós et doctrína ínstruis // ét aliménto réficis'). The awkwardness of the metre is best exemplified by 4, 3 where the three monosyllables at the beginning make the verse hesitant.

The poem's opening words, 'Salve abba mitissime / paterno dignus nomine', announce its theme, the abbot as father, who is greeted as 'most kindly' and 'worthy of the name of father', on whom the heavenly Father's blessings are invoked. The second stanza justifies such designation: the abbot, nourishing his 'filioli' (little sons) 'sweetly', instructs them with 'doctrina' and restores them with 'alimento', elaborations of 'dulciter a te aliti'. The abbot feeds his monks with two kinds of food, real, material food ('alimento') and figurative food ('doctrina'). Stanza 3 appears to elaborate even further on the material nourishment the abbot provides: he strengthens the monks with 'solido pane' and cheers up their hearts with 'uino' which on a feast day is mixed with honey ('uinum melli confunditur'). Stanza 4 provides a summary for the first part of the poem with an exhortation to drink⁵ so that we may better

⁴ There are thirty-eight monosyllables in the nine stanzas, frequently together. In Fulbert's 'Chorus novae Ierusalem' (six stanzas) there are thirteen monosyllables; in his 'In gestis patrum veterum' (thirteen stanzas), there are twenty-two.

⁵ It is the last line of stanza 4 which, presumably, led Gasnault to regard this poem as a 'parodic hymn in praise of wine'. However, such characterization of the poem can be discounted. As Paul Lehmann shows, in *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), especially pp. 244–50, parodic pieces (both prose and verse) in praise of wine assume excessive drinking and are humorous, following the 'goliardic' tradition of 'wine, women, and song'. Cf., for example, the

praise God who fills us with all good things, and who is thus explicitly offered as the model for the abbot who provides food and drink to his monks.⁶

These four opening stanzas may indeed be echoing the conventions of the *caritas-Lieder*, poems that celebrate 'caritas in refectorio' and mark the custom of more abundant food and drink, which, as noted, the abbot or another patron dispenses on the occasion of a feast day.⁷ It was these characteristics that had led Bernhard Bischoff to describe 'Salue abba mitissime' as a *caritas-Lied*. Bischoff noted that these poems were restricted to monastic settings of the ninth and tenth centuries, although they are related to earlier Carolingian liturgical or semi-liturgical compositions that recall the theme of *caritas* more broadly as love of brother and neighbour or God.⁸ Perhaps as a result of monastic reforms, no verses

'alia sequencia' (ibid., p. 244): 'Vinum bonum et suave / bibit abbas cum priore / et conventus de peygore / bibit cum tristicia' (the abbot drinks good and sweet wine with the prior, and the convent drinks lower quality wine with sadness). As my discussion of 'Salue abba mitissime' will illustrate, the characteristics highlighted by Lehman are absent in this poem. On medieval Latin parody, see also Martha Bayless, *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

⁶ Perhaps an echo of Psalm 106. 8–9 iuxta hebraicum: 'et mirabilia eius in filios hominum / quia saturavit animam vacuum et animam esurientem implevit [replevit] bonis' (and his wonderful works to the children of men. / For he hath satisfied the empty soul, and hath filled the hungry soul with good things — Douay version).

⁷ The roots of monastic 'caritas in refectorio' can be traced to the Rule of Benedict, which decreed that the monks beginning and completing their week's service in the kitchen should wash everyone's feet, and that those who work in the kitchen should receive extra rations of bread and drink. Monastic customaries legislated the provision of 'caritas in refectorio' on special occasions, such as the anniversary of the abbot's election or the death of a monk. The dispensing of such *caritas* assumed a quasi-liturgical ceremonial, especially on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday (Bischoff, 'Caritas-Lieder', pp. 59–60). 'Caritas' as 'a meal of love and brotherhood' among hosts and guests is found in Gregory the Great (Jan Frederik Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, revised by J. W. J. Burgers (Leiden: Brill, 2002), s.v.); its meaning as 'brotherhood meal in commemoration of a saint' is found already in the *Virtutes Gertrudis* (c. 11; ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, SRM, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888; repr. 1984), p. 470). Ultimately, all these customs go back to the early Christian *agape*.

⁸ For example, Walafrid Strabo's 'Versus de laetitia' written on the occasion of the community's gathering on a feast day, and Hrabanus Maurus's 'Alta res magnumque bonum' centring on Christ's incarnation as the model of brotherly love (ed. by Dümmler, pp. 418, 244–45). Most influential was Paulinus of Aquileia's 'Congregavit nos in unum' (ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH, *PLAC*, iv.2 (Munich: MGH, 1914; repr. 2000), pp. 526–29) composed to mark the Synod of Friuli (796–97) and celebrating the love and unity of those gathered together. An adaptation with the refrain 'Ubi caritas est vera, Deus ibi est' became the standard hymn for the celebration of the Mandatum on Maundy Thursday, when the poor are fed after the abbot washes the feet of his

celebrating ‘*caritas in refectorio*’ were composed after this period, although both parodic *caritas-Lieder* and table songs linked to *caritas* continued to be produced. Among the latter, Bischoff includes ‘*Salve abba mitissime*’.⁹

‘*Salve abba mitissime*’, however, fits uneasily within this tradition. It does not focus on the two principal themes of this poetic genre, the communal celebration of a feast day in which brotherly love is more or less prominent¹⁰ and the praise or toast of the host or patron of the material celebration.¹¹ Here, instead, as the rest of the poem makes clear, the abbot is being celebrated not for providing Falernian wine or abundant earthly food, but because as father he provides spiritual nourishment both through Scripture and through the Eucharist.¹² Food, shared by a community in celebration, provided and consumed by individuals for physical nourishment, carried many strands of symbolic meaning in Christian culture. ‘*Salve abba mitissime*’ echoes the *caritas-Lieder* tradition in its celebration of the abbot who provides particularly rich nourishment to his monks on the occasion of a special day, as the words ‘*Si festa dies agitur / Vinum melli confunditur*’ possibly suggest. The poem, however, transcends the tradition as it has come down to us,

brothers and offers them ‘*caritas*’. Dag Norberg, ‘Saint Paulin d’Aquilée et l’hymne “*Congregavit nos in unum*”’, in *La Poésie latine rythmique du haut moyen âge*, Studia latina holmiensia, 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954), pp. 87–97. This popular hymn has been closely linked even in the present with the Maundy Thursday liturgy; Wilmart thought that it had been composed for the weekly conventual foot-washing ceremony; in *ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹ Bischoff, ‘*Caritas-Lieder*’, p. 67.

¹⁰ The theme of brotherly love is often absent in those poems that celebrate more specifically ‘*caritas in refectorio*’ as in the tenth-century ‘*carmina potatoria*’ from the monastery of St Julian de Broude (ed. by Paul von Winterfeld, MGH, *PLAC*, iv.1 (Munich: MGH, 1899; repr. 2000), pp. 350–53). The poem ‘*In nativitate Sanctae Mariae*’ is typical. It begins with a discussion of the feast (‘*Exoritur hodie virga radice Jesse*’; Today, the shoot of the root of Jesse comes forth) and concludes with the toast (‘*Sumite nunc laeti praesentis pocula musti*’; Now, you present, happy ones, lift up the goblets full of must). Cf. Bischoff, ‘*Caritas-Lieder*’, p. 60 and n. 25.

¹¹ The last poem in the group from St Julian de Broude (‘*In laudem Wilelmi Comitiss*’) is primarily an exhortation to drink to the lay abbot and his men: ‘*Vos, fidi proceres circumpositique fideles / Principis exemplo vos exhilarate Falerno*’ (You, loyal chiefs and faithful subjects who are gathered round, follow the example of your prince and be joyous with Falernian wine).

¹² This is the ‘naïve’ theme that distinguished this poem from the *caritas-Lieder* in Bischoff’s description: ‘In einem an den Abt Reginbert von Echternach gerichteten Festlied werden Brot und Wein auf Christus gedeutet, doch der laute Dank für die Gottesgaben ist in naiver Weise mit einer Trinksitte vermischt: “*Et ne vox fiat raucida primo tinguamus guttura*” (In one of the celebratory poems dedicated to Abbot Reginbert, bread and wine represent Christ, but the noisy thanks for God’s gift is in naïve fashion mixed with drinking custom).

or may even subvert it by its ending, which warns against wine-induced drunkenness. The poem instead uses one of the topoi of the *caritas-Lieder*, the toast to the abbot who provides good food on a feast day, to talk about the symbolic meaning of food and drink as both biblical teaching and Eucharistic sacrament in the monastery of Echternach in the eleventh century. 'Salve abba mitissime', in my reading, adds to the traditional image of the abbot who feeds his monks with biblical food the sacramental image of the abbot who dispenses to his monks the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.¹³ Such conflation in the images or metaphors of Eucharist as food that is actually eaten and Bible as food that is spiritually eaten may reflect the renewed discussions on the nature of the Eucharist in the second half of the eleventh century in response to the Berengarian heresy. As we shall see below, evidence of Echternach's keen interest in the controversy is found both in the library's holdings and in the writings of Thiofrid.

The use of images of real food allegorically in the stanzas that follow the opening section challenges Bischoff's categorization of the poem and questions the literal reading of the first section (stanzas 1–4). The fifth stanza opens with a reference to Christ descending from heaven and offering himself as 'panem uiuum', from John 6. 51 and 59.¹⁴ The Fathers, and particularly Eusebius, had taught that John's Bread of Life signified the truth taught by Christ, whose words and teachings were his flesh and blood. The Fathers also linked the Bread of Life to the other nourishment of the soul, the Eucharist.¹⁵ These phrases from John were seen as standard proof texts to support the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharistic

¹³ The abbot as father and teacher is classically portrayed in the Rule of Benedict, where the abbot begets his children through the Word as seed (*RB 1980: The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English*, ed. by Timothy Fry, O.S.B. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1981), pp. 322–32, also for the theme of instruction as exercise of fatherhood in both the Old Testament and New Testament).

¹⁴ John 6. 51–52: 'Ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane vivet in aeternum et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita' (I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any one eats of this bread, he will live for ever; and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh); John 6. 59: 'hic est panis qui de caelo descendit' (This is the bread which came down from heaven).

¹⁵ Clement, Origen, and Eusebius are the earliest exponents of this concept, which Henri de Lubac translates as the 'corpus mysticum': 'above all the Scripture [...] not without links to the Eucharist, this other nourishment of the soul' ('L'idée, qu'Eusèbe doit surtout à Clement et à Origène et qu'il partage avec Basile, Ambroise, Jérôme, Augustine et bien d'autres [...]. Si elle vise avant tout l'Écriture, elle n'est pas pourtant pas sans liens avec l'Eucharistie, cette autre nourriture de l'âme': *Corpus mysticum: l'eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge*, 2nd edn (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1948), pp. 17–18, and pp. 55–88, where the Eucharistic aspects are discussed more fully).

bread that is fed to the faithful during the sacrifice of the Mass and were confirmed as such in the treatise that became the cornerstone for the orthodox position in the Eucharistic debate of the eleventh century: Paschasius Radbertus's *De corpore et sanguine Domini*.¹⁶ The poem's rearticulation of the Gospel phrase — 'Se panem uiuum prebuit' — may be a deliberate attempt to recall the sacrificial language of the Eucharistic liturgy.¹⁷ In the next two lines, the same word 'panis' but now qualified by 'solidus' (rather than 'uiuus') is described as the 'mystical sense of Scripture'. Bread in this stanza serves as metaphor for two kinds of hidden, spiritual food: the body of Christ present but not visible in the Eucharist, and the spiritual sense of the Sacred Scripture, present but hidden under the letter. Both were considered sacraments, for they are signs under which is hidden spiritual meaning according to Augustine's classic definition.¹⁸

A similar imbrication is found in the next (sixth) stanza. Here, Christ is depicted first Eucharistically, as a fountain that can quench the thirst of those who seek him ('Ipse fons . . .'), recalling Christ in his speech ('si qui sitis veniat ad me et bibat')¹⁹ and in his depiction ('flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae').²⁰ Drink, or liquid food, is then used as a metaphor for the 'sensus scripturae facilis', appropriate nourishment for the 'sciolis', those who are not yet experienced and learned. These two stanzas (5 and 6) create in effect two corresponding or parallel triangles, of which Christ present in the Eucharist is one angle, the Scripture is another, and their common or shared image (bread in one case, drink in the other) is the third: Christ=bread=mystical sense of Scripture : Christ=drink=literal sense of Scripture.

¹⁶ Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, passim (ed. by Beda Paulus, CCCM, 16 (1969), p. 180 for the 'Index locorum S. Scripturae'). The final version of the treatise was composed in 844. Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 20–31, provides a brief introduction to Paschasius Radbertus's treatise; more thorough studies include Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 252–315, also for its aftereffects.

¹⁷ Cf. John's 'dabo'. The more explicit 'offerō', which is used in the Mass several times, could not have been used here because elision would result after 'uiuum'.

¹⁸ For Augustine's definition of 'sacramentum' and earlier patristic antecedents, particularly Tertullian, see Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, pp. 256–59.

¹⁹ John 7. 37.

²⁰ John 7. 38.

The poet's use of food metaphors to signify the senses of Scripture follows a tradition that goes back to the very beginnings of Christian exegesis. The Apostle Paul had provided the text on which the metaphor would be continuously elaborated.²¹ In I Corinthians 3. 1–3, he explained to the Corinthians why he had fed them with milk, or liquid food, rather than with solid food: 'Et ego, fratres, non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus. Tamquam parvulis in Christo, lac vobis potum dedi, non escam: nondum enim poteratis, sed nec nunc quidem potestis, adhuc enim carnales estis' (But I, brethren, could not address you as spiritual men, but as men of the flesh, as babes in Christ. I fed you with milk, not solid food; for you were not ready for it; and even yet you are not ready, for you are still of the flesh).²² Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Cassian, and others developed the metaphor, which came to signify the contrast between the literal and the allegorical or spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures.²³ Paschasius Radbertus, elaborating on Gregory's *Moralia* (I. 29), provides one of the clearest explanations of the image in his treatise on Lamentations when he emphasizes the difference between easy (or more open) and difficult (or more obscure) meaning:

²¹ The standard survey of this metaphor is Klaus Lange, 'Geistliche Speise: Untersuchungen zur Metaphorik der Bibelhermeneutik', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 95 (1966), 81–122. I have treated the conflation of food metaphors for the Bible and Eucharist more fully in 'Words as Food: Figuring the Bible in the Early Middle Ages', in *Comunicare e significare nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 52 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2005), pp. 733–64.

The broader subject of the monastic reading of Scripture — 'Lectio divina' — whose aim was 'to taste and savour the word of God' has been treated by Jean Leclercq particularly in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catharine Misrahi, 3rd edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982); and 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture: From Gregory the Great to St Bernard', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963–70), II, 183–97. But no detailed discussion of the metaphor of the Bible as food is provided in either study.

²² The same metaphor is used in Hebrews 5. 12–14: 'et facti estis quibus lacte opus sit, non solido cibo omnis enim qui lactis est particeps expertus est sermonis iustitiae parvulus enim est perfectiorum autem est solidus cibus' (You need milk, not solid food; for every one who lives on milk is unskilled in the language of righteousness, for he is a child. But solid food is for the mature).

²³ The metaphor — milk/liquid food versus solid food — was used to signify several variations in this basic meaning: the contrast between the Old Testament (the Law) and the New (especially the Gospels), for example, lies behind Jerome's statement that the Jews 'lacte enim aluntur, quasi parvuli, et non solido cibo' (are nourished with milk, almost like little children, and not with solid food): *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri XVIII*, II. 3. 1 (ed. by Marcus Adriaen, CCL, 73 (1963), p. 42), discussed also in Lange, 'Geistliche Speise', p. 89.

Scriptura enim sacra aliquando nobis cibus est, aliquando uero potus lactis. Cibus est in locis obscurioribus quando quasi exponendo a doctore frangitur et mandendo ab auditoribus glutitur. Potus est autem lactis in locis apertioribus, quia ita sorbetur aut sugitur ab uberibus Scripturarum prolatis et detectis sicuti invenitur.²⁴

Here Paschasius also alludes to the related idea of ascent from one kind of understanding to another, implied in the Pauline passage and elaborated particularly by monastic writers who wish to describe the common monastic aspiration towards greater perfection. Paschasius distinguishes two kinds of members of the community of Christ: those who are still ‘lactantes paruuli’, sucking the breasts of their teachers (‘sugentes ubera praeceptorum’), and those who are older and who seek solid food (‘maiores qui iam queunt solidum capere cibum scilicet profundiora mysteriorum Dei intelligere’). But even these, according to Paschasius, are in need of instruction, a teacher who can break up the bread for them, that is, the more secret sacraments of the Holy Scriptures (‘si esset qui eis frangeret panem secretiora uidelicet sacramenta Scripturarum’). In both images Paschasius highlights the role of the teacher whose teeth break up the bread of spiritual meaning, which can then be swallowed by the pupils, an adaptation of the image of monastic rumination of the Word of God.²⁵

Such an ascent from the literal to the spiritual meaning of Scripture is alluded to in the poem’s next stanza (7) by its evocation of the language and imagery of the Song of Songs. The dripping honeycomb representing the multiple levels of biblical hermeneutics was an image firmly established by the middle of the ninth century.²⁶ Bede’s exegesis on the verse that is intertextualized here, Song of Songs 4. 11 (‘favus distillans labia tua sponsa / mel et lac sub lingua tua’; Your lips distil nectar, my bride; honey and milk are under your tongue), produced the most explicit and influential enunciation of the link between the senses of Scripture and the methodological system that underpins it: ‘In lacte eruditio paruulorum in melle ea quae

²⁴ Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, IV, 4 (ed. by Beda Paulus, CCCM, 85 (1988), p. 258) (Sacred Scripture sometimes is food, sometimes is drinking milk. It is food in the more obscure passages, when it is as if broken up by the teacher who explains it, and chewed up and swallowed by the hearers. It is a drink of milk instead in the more open passages, because it is slurped or sucked from the proffered and exposed breasts of Scriptures just as it is found). This passage is discussed also in Lange, ‘Geistliche Speise’, p. 87.

²⁵ Paschasius Radbertus, *In Lamentationes Hieremiae*, IV, 4 (ed. by Paulus, pp. 257–58). Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, pp. 264–65, discusses a similar distinction — between the ‘simpliciores’ or even ‘illiterate’ and the ‘literati’ — made in Radbertus’s commentary on Matthew’s Gospel.

²⁶ E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 103–05.

perfectioribus competi doctrina signatur [...] habet [Ecclesia] mel et lac sub lingua, cum recte nouit discernere quae incipientibus quae sint dicenda proficientibus.²⁷

The bride, allegorized as the Church, holds both honey and milk under her tongue, which she feeds to her followers according to their status. In the contrast milk/honey, milk represents the easier and more evident meaning of Scripture; honey, which must be found deep inside the honeycomb, is the hidden meaning that is revealed only to those who are 'perfectiores'. In Bede's exegesis of Song of Songs 4. 11, honey replaces solid food as a symbol of the spiritual sense of Scripture.²⁸ The encounter with the sweetness of God, contained in the Scriptures and symbolized ordinarily by milk and honey, is an integral part of the development of the interior life, which the monk pursues under the guidance of the abbot. The experience of the sweetness of God is also closely linked with the Eucharist in patristic writings. In the ancient liturgies, Psalm 33. 9 (iuxta LXX), 'Gustate et videte quoniam suavis Dominus', was chanted during communion.²⁹

The use in the poem's middle three stanzas (5–7) of food metaphors with long patristic pedigrees signifying biblical hermeneutics and conflated with Eucharistic significance, as I have described above, now calls into question our initial reading of the third stanza within the *caritas-Lieder* tradition.³⁰ The more complex ideas that the poem's middle section develops undermine a purely literal reading of that stanza's 'solido pane' by which the abbot strengthens his monks, the 'uino' by which he gladdens their heart, and 'the wine that is mixed with honey' on a feast

²⁷ Bede, *In Cantica canticorum libri VI*, III, 4, 11, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 119B (1983), pp. 165–375 (pp. 260–61) (Through milk is signified the erudition of little ones, through honey the learning which suits the more perfected ones [...]. The Church has honey and milk under her tongue, for she knows rightly to discern those things which must be said to beginners, and which things are to be said to those who are progressing). This passage, also discussed in Lange, 'Geistliche Speise', p. 90 and n. 4, repeats Cassian's classic illustration of the four senses of Scripture by the example of Jerusalem of Psalm 147. 1 ('Lauda Ierusalem dominum').

²⁸ 'Mel [...] in cera spiritualis est divinorum eloquiorum sensus in littera' (Honey [...] in the honeycomb is the spiritual sense of the divine Scriptures found in the letter) as is explained by Alcuin (*Compendium in Canticum canticorum*, 4.11 (PL, 100, col. 652D)). Exegetes saw their task similar to the extraction of honey from the honeycomb that their predecessors had compiled: Lange, 'Geistliche Speise', pp. 91–110.

²⁹ Éphrem Longpré, 'Eucharistie et expérience mystique', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. by Marcel Viller and others, 16 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1937–95), IV.2, col. 1596.

³⁰ Nor is the possibility that two separate poems (stanzas 1–4, 5–7) were here put together worthy of consideration, for the poem is integrated both verbally and hermeneutically.

day. Two of the three foods described in the third stanza are clearly used in an allegorical fashion in stanzas 5–7: the ‘solido pane’ with which the abbot fortifies (‘roboras’) his monks in stanza 3 finds an echo in the ‘panis solidus’ of stanza 5, where it represents the mystical sense of Scripture; the ‘melli’ that is mixed with ‘uinum’ in stanza 3 is the honey which in stanza 7 represents the hidden meaning of Scripture.

There is no corresponding allegorical image of the wine of stanza 3 in stanzas 5–7. The ‘uino’ with which the abbot cheers the heart of the monks in stanza 3 (‘et uino cor exilaras’), however, carries well-established allegorical connotations developed in stanzas 8 and 9, which follow. These stanzas further underscore the poem’s metaphorical conflation of Bible and Eucharist. The poem’s phrase (‘et uino cor exilaras’) alludes to Psalm 103 [104]. 15 (‘et vinum laetificat cor hominis / ad exhilarandam faciem oleo / panis autem cor hominis roborat’; and wine to gladden the heart of man, oil to make his face shine, and bread to strengthen man’s heart),³¹ another psalm whose Eucharistic application is also found in Paschasius Radbertus’s tract. In the same key chapter in which he uses the Johannine texts to argue that the bread of the Eucharist is the real body of Christ but can still be called bread because of its efficacy in feeding the body, Paschasius applies a similar argument to state that the wine is the real blood of Christ while still remaining wine:

Quia sicut uinum laetificat cor hominum sobrie potatum, ita longe locupletius hoc uinum sanguinis laetificat cor hominis interioris, et inebriat mentem amore spiritali. Vnde dictum est: *Calix tuus inebrians quam praeclarus est* [Psalm 22. 5]. *Et uinum laetificat cor hominis* [Psalm 103. 15]. De quo nimirum uino sponsa in Canticis exultat, quod Christus in ea suam ordinauerit charitatem.³²

Paschasius Radbertus’s passage also sheds further light on these last two stanzas of the poem. In stanza 8 we find a warning not to anger ‘the most kindly

³¹ In the version according to the Hebrews. The Septuagint version reads instead: ‘Et vinum laetificat cor hominis ut exhilaret faciem in oleo et panis cor hominis confirmat.’ This divergence may explain why Bischoff had caught the allusion to Psalm 103. 15 of the second line of the stanza, but missed the one of the first line, and suggested instead a possible echo to Hebrews 5. 12 and 14, where the discussion centres on the contrast between milk and solid food (and not specifically bread). See above.

³² Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore*, XVI (ed. by Paulus, p. 97) (Because just as wine when drunk soberly cheers up the heart of men, similarly and even more richly this wine of blood cheers up the heart of interior man and inebriates his mind with a spiritual love. Hence it is said ‘My cup overflows’ [23. 5 in RSV; cf. ‘my chalice which inebriates me, how goodly is it’ in Douay-Rheims translation]; and ‘wine to gladden the heart of man’ [104. 15 in RSV]. About this wine, the bride in the Canticles exults, because Christ placed his love in her).

(*dulcissimum*) Lord' (an appellation that recalls the first stanza's 'abba mitissime' who 'dulciter' feeds his sons), lest he pour 'the cup of his wrath' on us,³³ in implied contrast to the redeeming cup of his blood. The poem does not specify what might anger the 'dulcissimum dominum', but clearly the answer is found in the following stanza read in conjunction with Paschasius Radbertus and patristic tradition. Radbertus qualifies that only wine 'ebrie potatum' in fact has the desired or beneficial effect of gladdening the human heart. He reflects the ancient Christian theme of the oxymoronic 'sobria ebrietas', rooted in the Pauline contrast between physical and spiritual drunkenness.³⁴ The Fathers had emphasized the gravity of drunkenness and exalted the 'sober drunkenness' that comes from the 'inebriating cup' of Psalm 22. 5 ('calyx meus inebrians'), an often-used symbol of mystical union with God. In some instances, 'sobria ebrietas' is attributed specifically to spiritual manducation of the word of God, as it was in the eleventh-century Life of St Gerard, Abbot of Brogne.³⁵ More frequently, perhaps, the psalm was linked with the effects of the mystical union brought by the Eucharistic sacrifice.³⁶ 'Sobria ebrietas' was understood to result from sacramental communion in Ambrose's 'Splendor paternae gloriae', for example.³⁷ Paschasius Radbertus's citation of the

³³ Isaiah 51. 17: 'bibisti de manu Domini calicem irae eius'.

³⁴ Ephesians 5. 18–19: 'et nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria sed implemini Spiritu loquentes vobismet ipsis in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino'.

³⁵ Gerard, who learned to read as a grown man when he joined the monastery, would become deeply drunk and like a flower-gathering bee would fly over the ample fields to produce honey with sweet nectar as soon as the holy books were placed before him: *Vita Gerardi abbatis bronienensis*, ed. by Lothar von Heinemann, MGH, SS, 15, ed. by Georg Waitz, Wilhelm Wattenbach, and others, 2 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1888; repr. 1963), II, 654–73 (p. 671). The *vita* was written during the abbacy of Gontherus, c. 1038–70 (*ibid.*, p. 654). The image of the bee to describe the exegete who extracts the hidden meaning of Scripture is ultimately based on Origen's image of the prophet as a bee: 'Et inveniuntur Prophetæ apes esse. Fingunt siquidem ceras, et mella conficiunt, et si audienti mihi expedit dicere, favi eorum scripturae sunt, quas reliquerunt' (Jerome, *Translatio Homiliarum novem in visiones Isaiae Origenis*, 2, 2 (*PL*, 24, col. 944C)) (And prophets are found to be like bees. They shape the wax, and make honey, and if it is allowed for me to speak to my listener, their honeycombs are the writings).

³⁶ Longpré, 'Eucharistie et expérience mystique', IV.2, col. 1593.

³⁷ 'Christus noster sit cibus / Potusque noster sit fides / Laeti bibamus sobriam / Ebrietatem spiritus' (May Christ be our food / Faith be our drink / Let us gladly drink the sober / drunkenness of the Spirit). The poem centres around two biblical Eucharistic passages, John 6. 55 ('Caro enim mea vere est cibus et sanguis meus vere est potus'; For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed) and John 6. 35 ('Ego sum panis vitae qui venit ad me non esuriet et qui credit in me

psalm in the passage above made its link to the Eucharist particularly conspicuous. The poem's prophetic interpretation of the inebriating cup of David's song as the action of the Paraclete in stanza 9 reflects the anagogical interpretation of Scripture within the system of biblical hermeneutics, in which different foods represent each of the senses of Scripture.³⁸ Its link to the Eucharistic wine of Psalm 103. 15 explicitly expressed in stanza 3, on the other hand, may be another instance of the conflation of the Bible and the Eucharist that is found in the poem as a whole.

The Eucharistic Background

Our exploration of the link between Eucharist and Scripture in the imagery of this poem has located its theological background in patristic traditions supplemented by the Eucharistic discussions of the eleventh century as informed by Paschasius Radbertus's ninth-century treatise. A more focused examination of this issue is now required, for it relates both to Echternach's specific interests in the contemporary Eucharistic debates and to claims of authorship. In this section, I will review, and add to, the evidence showing that the repercussions of the eleventh-century Eucharistic controversy are strikingly evident in the writings of Thiofrid, particularly in his treatise on relics, the *Flores epytaphii sanctorum*. In the following section, I will evaluate Schroeder's suggestion that the anonymous author of 'Salve

non sitiet unquam'; I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall never thirst), which I discuss above. Ambrose discusses 'sobria ebrietas' particularly in his *De sacramentis*; see *Hymnes: Ambroise de Milan. Texte établi, traduit et annoté sous la direction de Jacques Fontaines, membre de l'Institut*, ed. and trans. by J.-L. Charlet and others (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), pp. 177–208, for a discussion of the poem and full bibliography.

³⁸ Cf. the use of this psalm in the *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam* (frequently attributed to Hrabanus Maurus but in reality a creation of the twelfth century): 'Mater quippe Sapientia per hos adoptionis filios pascit, conferens incipientibus [insipientibus PL] atque teneris potum in lacte historiae; in fide autem proficientibus, cibum in pane allegoriae; bonis vero et strenue operantibus, et operibus bonis insudantibus, satietatem in sapida refectioe tropologiae; illis denique qui et ab imis per contemptum terrenorum suspensi, et ad summa per coeleste desiderium sunt provecti, sobriam theoricae contemplationis ebrietatem in vino anagogiae' (PL, 112, col. 849) (Indeed Mother Wisdom through them feeds her sons by adoption, conferring on beginners and tender ones drink in the milk of history; on those advancing in the faith, the solid food in the bread of allegory; on those who are good and working strenuously, and sweating in good works, satiety in the tasty refectioe of tropology; on those finally who are suspended above the low places through their contempt of earthly things, and who have been taken up to the highest places through celestial desire, the sober drunkenness of spiritual contemplation in the wine of anagogy).

abba mitissime' and the author of the *Vita S. Liutwini* (Thiofrid) are one and the same by looking at this proposal in the light of the poem's conflation of Eucharistic and Scriptural themes. In conclusion, I will argue that the poem's Scriptural and Eucharistic themes that are shared with the *Flores* and with the *Vita S. Liutwini* cannot be taken as definite proof of Thiofrid's authorship; rather, they are part of a more far-reaching, but still tentative, case in favour of attributing the authorship of 'Salue abba mitissime' to Thiofrid.

The bitter and drawn-out Eucharistic controversy placed Lanfranc of Bec (d. 1089) and others against Berengar of Tours (fl. 1040–80) and his followers, for the latter asserted that the body and blood of Christ are not materially present in the Eucharist.³⁹ At the centre of the debate was Paschasius's *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, which served as a proof text for those who held the orthodox position. Paschasius's treatise had not been widely read in the first two centuries of its existence, but its popularity soared in the eleventh century, as the large number of copies that survive from this period attest, because of its significance for Eucharistic theology.⁴⁰ At least one copy of Paschasius Radbertus's *De corpore* was found at Echternach from the late tenth century. It survives today as BnF, MS lat. 8915, a large book (38.7 x 27.3 cm), with numerous decorated large capitals.⁴¹ It was copied at the very end of the tenth century and presented to Echternach by the Anglo-Saxon Leofsinus, as stated in the original dedication:

Dedit Leofsinus abbas indignus et peccator
hunc librum pro remedio animae suae
Sancto Uuillibrordo et illic seruientibus.⁴²

³⁹ The bibliography on the major debate surrounding the proper understanding of the Eucharist is vast. Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, pp. 35–53, provides a brief survey. See also Stock, *Implications of Literacy*; and most recently, Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino against Berengar of Tours* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 1–32.

⁴⁰ At least 120 manuscripts of Paschasius's treatise were known to its most recent editor, Beda Paulus. Of those referred to in his edition, five are dated to the ninth century and four (including Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 588/1543) from the tenth (BnF, MS lat. 8915, as a codex descriptus, is not included in the edition). See note 42 below.

⁴¹ A thorough description of the codex is found in Nordenfalk, 'Abbas Leofsinus', pp. 49–56; see also *Les Plus Beaux Manuscrits*, ed. by Rabel and Palazzo, nos 28–29.

⁴² Leofsinus is also responsible for another copy of Paschasius Radbertus: Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 588/1543, which has a similar dedication made in Leofsinus's name to the monastery of St Eucharius in Trier. BnF, MS lat. 8915 was copied from this manuscript (Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, pp. 37–38; Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 508).

[Abbot Leofsinus, unworthy and a sinner
gave this book for the remedy of his soul
to St Willibrord and to those who serve there.]

Lioffin, or Leofsinus, a poet and artist, had been Abbot of Mettlach (c. 988/89–c. 993/94) and is best remembered for the building of the Marienkapelle, the central-plan church built to house the relics of Liutwin, the saintly founder of Mettlach. After his expulsion from Mettlach in 993/94 by Archbishop Egbert of Trier, Leofsinus had been given refuge at Echternach, where he would die.⁴³ It was perhaps to thank the abbey of Echternach that he made the gift of this handsome copy of the treatise, most of which may have been written in his own hand, the rest by Echternach's Master Scribe B.⁴⁴ The true source of the gift, however, was erased when the word *Leofsinus* was scraped off the dedication and *Thiofridus* was written over it.⁴⁵ It would seem that this was done by Thiofrid himself, or at his behest, for reasons that remain unknown to us but must include both the *damnatio memoriae* of Leofsinus and Thiofrid's self-aggrandizement. It would seem that such was Thiofrid's interest in this book that he wanted to be known as the donor.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Miracula S. Liutwini*, cap. 15 (= *Ex miraculis S. Liutwini auctore monaco mediolacensi*, ed. by Heinrich Volbert Sauerland, MGH, SS, 15, ed. by Georg Waitz, Wilhelm Wattenbach, and others, 2 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1888; repr. 1963), II, 1265: 'Sed postea accusatus, a praefato deponitur episcopo [i.e. Bishop Egbert of Trier] et exul moritur Efthernaco' (But after his accusation, he is deposed by the aforementioned bishop and dies in exile at Echternach). Nothing else is known about Leofsinus's expulsion. There were many Anglo-Saxon and Irish figures active in the monastic reform movement growing out of Gorze, and Leofsinus has been connected to this group (Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 140). We do not know when he died. For Leofsinus, see now Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach'. See also above, Chapter 2, note 36, for Leofsinus and Gerbert of Aurillac's educational programme at Echternach.

⁴⁴ Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, pp. 37–38, believes that Leofsinus copied up to fol. 110^r, when a second copyist (Master Scribe B) took over. Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 25 n. 115, states that the suggestion that Leofsinus was the scribe of the first major section of MS lat. 8915 is only an unauthenticated hypothesis. See above for my discussion of the hand of Master Scribe B.

⁴⁵ This book is no. 50 in Maugérard's catalogue. Maugérard misread the dedication ('Dedit Ecclesiae abbas et peccator') which he found difficult to decipher — 'folio 1o recto haec leguntur Licet non sine difficultate' (on fol. 1^r these things can be read although not without difficulty) — and concluded that the manuscript had not been written at Echternach (above, Chapter 2, Appendix; the no. 49 given in Muller, "Faites-moi la grâce", pp. 58, 59, refers instead to the later list).

⁴⁶ There is no entry for Leofsinus in Echternach's necrologies which, however, are incomplete (Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach', p. 115). We should also add that Thiofrid appears to have not held in high regard the Anglo-Saxon heritage of his monastery. Cf., as another example, his disdain for Alcuin's *opus geminatum* on Willibrord, which his own work was intended, but failed, to replace.

Another consideration is Thiofrid's special ties with Mettlach. His earliest work, the *Vita S. Liutwini*, was a hagiographical account of the saintly founder of the abbey and Bishop of Trier and was composed at the request of both Bishop Udo of Trier and Abbot Nithardus (Nizo III) of Mettlach.⁴⁷ His knowledge of the abbey might have made Thiofrid aware of the expulsion of Abbot Leofsinus by Egbert, an earlier Bishop of Trier. As Abbot of Echternach, Thiofrid might not have wished the abbey to be associated with the disgraced Leofsinus.

Thiofrid's appropriation of the Paschasius Radbertus volume reflects the contemporary appreciation of a newly popular text and is also in keeping with Thiofrid's strong feelings about the Eucharistic debate. Thiofrid's intellectual support of the orthodox position is shown most clearly in his treatise on relics, the *Flores epytaphii sanctorum*, written between 1102 and his death in 1110.⁴⁸ Thiofrid's *Flores* shows that the Abbot of Echternach had knowledge both of the specific issues and of the principal figures in the contemporary Eucharistic controversy.⁴⁹ It has been argued that in this treatise the corporeal relics of the saints and their *appendicia* are considered and defined in a manner that is similar to the way orthodox theologians were discussing the Eucharistic species, an approach that placed emphasis on the role of sensory perceptions.⁵⁰ A more evident connection with the Eucharistic treatise, and significant for us, is established by Thiofrid's language, which directly echoes several Paschasian passages.⁵¹ Of particular relevance to our study of the poems, among these echoes, is Thiofrid's incorporation of the language

⁴⁷ Thiofrid, *Vita Liutwini*, ed. by Lampen, 'Prologus', p. 1.

⁴⁸ The *Flores* was dedicated to Archbishop Bruno of Trier (1102–24).

⁴⁹ See above, note 39, for bibliography.

⁵⁰ Relics are categorized in the *Flores* not according to the hierarchy of the saints whom they embody, but according to their sensible qualities, just as the real nature of the bread and the wine after consecration during the Mass centred on the role of sensory perceptions: Book I deals with the *corpora*; Book II with the reliquaries that cover the *corpora*; Book III with the positive *appendicia*; Book IV with the negative *appendicia*. This view is proposed in Ferrari, 'Lemmata sanctorum'. See also Ferrari's introduction to his edition of the *Flores*, pp. xlix–lix. G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), does not consider the links between theoretical treatises on the Eucharist and the two medieval treatises on relics, Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 127 (1993), and Thiofrid's *Flores*.

⁵¹ For these, see Ferrari, 'Lemmata sanctorum'.

of Psalms 22. 5 and 103. 15 when he supports the salvific properties of holy oil by comparing its effects to Eucharistic wine:⁵²

Et quis modicę fidei requirat quid ualeat sanctificati olei unctio, quid uinum quod in sanguinem dominicum sacerdotalis in uerbo Domini uertit benedictio? Per consecratum quippe misericordię oleum reparatur salus animarum et corporum, per uinum quod tam iuxta humanę consuetudinis usum quam intellectum mysticum *letificat cor hominum* sospitantur membra languentium, et *exhilarantur mentes* merentium.

[And if someone of moderate faith asks of what value is the unction of sanctified oil, of what value is the wine which the priest's blessing in the name of the Lord turns into our Lord's blood: through the consecrated oil of forgiveness the health of souls and bodies is repaired; through the wine, which according both to its customary use by men and mystical understanding 'gladdens the heart of men', the bodies of the sick are healed, the 'minds' of the grieving 'are made cheerful'.]

Both Thiofrid and the author of 'Salue abba mitissime' follow Paschasius in their spiritual understanding of the two psalms, that they signify Eucharistic wine, the blood of Christ, which heals and inebriates those who drink it. In this, they are both echoing the language which had infiltrated the contemporary debate.

Thiofrid's writing suggests that he had knowledge of the contemporary documents of the debate, as well as its intellectual roots. He may have been familiar with Lanfranc's Eucharistic treatise, as is suggested by the passage of the *Flores* that compares the function of reliquaries or other coverings for relics with the Eucharistic bread and wine. While the idea that the physical species of the Eucharist served to prevent horror and disgust was part of the generalized vocabulary of the controversy and owed its origin to Ambrose,⁵³ the language of the *Flores* bears a particular closeness to the language of Lanfranc's *De corpore*.⁵⁴

Thiofrid also knew of Berengar's pivotal role in the controversy, as is reflected in his reference to the 'berengariana heresys' and his comparison of the Tours scholastic to Julian the Apostate, the early Christian emperor who reverted to paganism

⁵² Cf. *Flores*, III. 5 (ed. by Ferrari, p. 73), quoted here, and the passage from Paschasius's *De corpore*, XVI, cited above, note 32.

⁵³ Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, 4. 4. 20, ed. by Otto Faller, CSEL, 73 (1955), p. 54. This passage is echoed, for example, in Albericus's libellus against Berengar (Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*, p. 130).

⁵⁴ See *Flores*, II. 3 (ed. by Ferrari, p. 39, especially lines 82–88) and Lanfranc's *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*, 18 (*PL*, 150, cols 407–42). Cf. in particular the *Flores*'s phrase 'ne percipientes cruda et cruenta exhorrent' with Lanfranc's 'ne percipientes cruda et cruenta, horrent' (*PL*, 150, col. 430C). Ferrari's edition of the *Flores* does not identify a direct source for this phrase.

and turned into a persecutor of the Church.⁵⁵ Another passage from the *Flores* reveals what may be lexical links to two oaths sworn by Berengar, the Profession of Faith made by the scholastic of Tours in 1075 and the Iuramentum of 1079:⁵⁶

Et sicut dominici corporis et sanguinis mysterium quod in specie panis et uini cotidie per sacerdotum conficitur ministerium uere ac absque ulla dubitatione fidelium representat illud corpus Christi Domini quod crucifixum, quod lancea militis perfossum est et mortuum, et illum cruorem qui de perfosso Crucifixi somate cum aqua profusus est redemptionis humanae precium [...].

[...] quid uinum quod in sanguinem dominicum sacerdotalis in uerbo Domini uertit benedictio.⁵⁷

per mysterium sacre orationis et uerba nostri Redemptoris (1079)

Per manum sacerdotis (1075)

Quod passum est et crucifixum (1075)

Effusus est (1079) *cf.* emanauit (1075)

Per mysterium sacre orationis et uerba nostri Redemptoris substantialiter conuerit (1079)
cf. post consecrationem [...] per manum sacerdotis ... transmutatum (1075)

Thiofrid's statement in the passages above is the central argument of the proponents that the bread and wine after consecration during the sacrifice of the Mass are the body and blood of Christ, a statement that is first promulgated by Paschasius Radbertus.⁵⁸ This belief is the basis for two oaths that Berengar was forced to swear: one in 1075 at the Council of Poitiers, and the other during the Lenten Synod held in Rome in 1079 in the presence of Pope Gregory VII. These two oaths emphasize, in slightly different language, the identity of the Eucharistic bread and

⁵⁵ *Flores*, IV. 2, lines 203–23 (ed. by Ferrari, p. 88).

⁵⁶ The best introduction to Berengar's oaths is found in Robert Somerville, 'The Case against Berengar of Tours: A New Text', *Studi gregoriani*, 9 (1972), 55–75 (pp. 68–69 for the text of both the oath of 1075 and that of 1079); repr. in Robert Somerville, *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the 11th–12th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990).

⁵⁷ *Flores*, III. 1 (ed. by Ferrari, p. 59) (And just as the mystery of the Lord's body and blood which is accomplished every day in the species of bread and wine through the ministry of the priests truly and without any doubt by the faithful represents that body of Christ the Lord, which was crucified, which was perforated by the soldier's lance and which died, and that blood which flowed out with water of the perforated body of the Crucified one, the price of human redemption [...]); and *Flores*, III. 5 (ed. by Ferrari, p. 73) ([...] the wine which sacerdotal benediction in the word of the Lord turns into the Lord's blood).

⁵⁸ Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 21.

wine with the historical body of Christ, by their express reference to the body of Christ born of the Virgin and crucified on the Cross. In contrast, the earliest extant oath sworn by Berengar, dictated by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida at the Lenten Synod held in Rome in 1059 before Pope Nicholas II, does not make explicit mention of these human, historical details.⁵⁹ Berengar's oaths of 1075 and 1079 reflect the influence of the scholarly debate on the nature of the Eucharist that had been developing over the previous ten years.⁶⁰ The verbal links between the *Flores* and Berengar's oaths of 1075 and 1079, however, seem too striking to be accidental, especially since they echo the specialized vocabulary that the controversy created.⁶¹ Furthermore, Thiofrid's confessional, credal tone also recalls the format of Berengar's solemn words.

The textual comparison of the passage from the *Flores* above shows, perhaps, a greater similarity with the 1079 oath. The 1075 oath's echoes to the *Flores* seem to me less telling. The echoes to the 1075 oath, missing in the 1079 document, are 'Per manum *sacerdotis*' (1075); 'Quod passum est *et crucifixum*' (1075). On the other hand, for the significant 'effusus est' (1079), one finds 'emanavit' (1075); for the telling 'converti' (1079), there is 'transmutatum' (1075). The circulation of the two oaths argues in favour of a possible link between Thiofrid and specifically the 1079 Confession. The text of the 1075 oath does not appear to have had a large circulation.⁶² The text of Berengar's 1079 Confession, on the other hand, circulated widely, and Thiofrid could easily have read it in a number of places.⁶³ But there is evidence from Echternach's library to suggest more precisely how Thiofrid could have developed such an interest in Berengar's Confession of 1079. A copy of the

⁵⁹ This oath dictated by Cardinal Humbert circulated widely; it is included in Lanfranc's *De corpore*, and in numerous canonical collections. For a summary, see Somerville, 'Case against Berengar', pp. 58–59 and n. 15, and pp. 68–69 for the text of the oath.

⁶⁰ Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*, p. 27.

⁶¹ Cf. the underlined words. But no echoes of the language of the 1059 oath (transmitted in Lanfranc's treatise) are found in the *Flores*. Since all three oaths concern the same issue, I find the absence of verbal echoes to the 1059 oath and the presence of echoes to the 1079 and 1075 oath significant and not due to accident.

⁶² Somerville discovered the oath as an addition to the *Collection in Four Books* in two manuscripts of French origin from the early twelfth century ('Case against Berengar', pp. 65–67).

⁶³ Somerville, 'Case against Berengar', p. 74, n. 84, lists some of the texts in which the oath is found, incorporated into the account of the synod, as well as some of the manuscripts to which it was added later. There is also an interpolation of the 1079 Confession in Lanfranc's *De corpore*, a text that is the only source for the 1059 oath.

Confession was added at the end of Burchard's *Decretum*, now BnF, MS lat. 8922, a manuscript commissioned by Abbot Regimbert and hence datable to his abbacy, which ended in 1081.⁶⁴ It is very likely that this addition was made not long after the codex was copied, and certainly within Thiofrid's lifetime, so that Thiofrid could have read it there.⁶⁵ Perhaps Thiofrid had an even more immediate knowledge of Berengar's Confession. We are told, in the brief biography included in the First Abbots' Catalogue, that he travelled to Rome in 1083.⁶⁶ The reasons for this trip remain unclear. Thiofrid assumed the abbacy in 1081, following the death of Regimbert, who had chosen him as his successor. The trip to Rome may well have originated from the need to secure the approval of the Emperor who was in the city at this time, and possibly, though unlikely, of Pope Gregory VII.⁶⁷ A visit to Rome,

⁶⁴ On fol. 2^v there is the famous ascription 'Domnus Abbas Regimbertus divinarum scripturarum auctor praeceptus, hunc canonum librum fieri instituit. Si quis abstulerit, anathema sit. Amen' (The Lord Abbot Regimbertus eminent author [i.e. in the sense that he commissioned the copying of such books] of the divine Scriptures, ordered that this book of the canons be made. If anyone should take it, let him be anathema). See below, p. 187, for a discussion of similar ascriptions.

⁶⁵ The following are added after Burchard's work, each by a different hand: 1. fol. 172^{vb}: Berengar's oath which includes the concluding lines from the conciliar acts ('Postea dominus papa praecepit Beringario [...] doctrinam ab ea accesserant'); 2. fol. 173^{ra}: letter of Pope Alexander II to Archbishop Udo of Trier (*Germania pontificia*, ed. by Egon Boshof, vol. x.1: *Provincia Treverensis. Archidioecesis Treverensis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), no. 125, p. 67; 3. fol. 173^{ra-2b}: a decree of Gregory VII beginning with 'Si quis clericus'; 4. fol. 173^{rb}: a letter of Archbishop Bruno of Trier dated in 1122. Fol. 173^v has later additions. The position of these additions in the manuscript, combined with the fact that fol. 173^v was blank when Berengar's oath was added, leads us to conclude that the oath was the earliest addition (if the additions on fol. 173^v had already been made, one would have expected the oath then to be added on fol. 173^v and not back on fol. 172^v). Reiners, 'Les Manuscrits', p. 36, and Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, History of Medieval Canon Law, 1 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), p. 148, give a general eleventh- to twelfth-century dating for the additions, rather than dating them individually.

⁶⁶ The news of the trip is reported in Echternach's first Abbots' Catalogue: 'Quem [Emperor Henry IV] post biennium [1081] adiens domnus abbas Thiofridus Romae anno incarnationis domini 1083 13. kal. Decembris abbatiam suscepit, eamque per 28 annos, in omnibus sequens vestigia predecessoris sui, ut verus Israelita strenuissime rexit' (*Catalogus primus*, ed. by Weiland, p. 34) (The lord abbot Thiofrid after two years went to him [Emperor Henry IV] in Rome in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1083 on the 13th Kalends of December and received the abbey, and he ruled it vigorously for twenty-eight years like a true Israelite, following in all things in the footsteps of his predecessor).

⁶⁷ This trip is discussed in Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 50–54, who convincingly discounts a much later report that Thiofrid was in competition for the abbey's throne.

and perhaps even the discussions which must have still preoccupied the city during his sojourn,⁶⁸ may be another reason for Thiofrid's keen interest in the debate surrounding the Eucharist and the subsequent confirmation of the Church's official position. He may also have returned north with a copy of the synodal acts, and it is possible that these served as the source for the addition at the end of Burchard's *Decretum*.

The Evidence of the Vita S. Liutwini

So far, we have reviewed the evidence found in the monastic library and in the writings of Thiofrid for Echternach's interests in the topics of the great Eucharistic debate of the eleventh century. It is clear that the use of Psalms 22. 5 and 103. 15 in Thiofrid's *Flores* is inspired by the Eucharistic connotations elaborated in Paschasius Radbertus's treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, a copy of which Thiofrid had appropriated to give as a gift to his abbey. These same psalms carry analogous Eucharistic overtones when they are deployed in 'Salve abba mitissime'.

These same psalms are also echoed, as Jean Schroeder pointed out, in Thiofrid's *Vita S. Liutwini*, the *Life* of the founding Abbot of Mettlach and later Bishop of Trier. Schroeder argued that the use of the two psalms, 103. 15 and 22. 5, in 'Salve abba mitissime' and in Thiofrid's *Life* of Liutwin supported his hypothesis that Thiofrid was also the author of the poem.⁶⁹ Schroeder ignored the use of the psalms in the *Flores*, nor did he discuss the application — Eucharistic or otherwise — of the two psalms in either the poem or *Vita*, however. While it has often been pointed out that all monks knew the psalms and that their citation cannot be given overdue significance, the rarity of these two psalms occurring together⁷⁰ and their Eucharistic

⁶⁸ Cf. the words of Alberic of Monte Cassino, directly involved in the 1079 affair, that 'non solum clerici ac monachi, quorum intentio in talibus invigilare debet, verum etiam ipsi laici de hoc inter se in plateis confabulentur' (Radding and Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics*, p. 126) (Not only clerics and monks, who must pay attention to such affairs, but even laymen discuss this matter among themselves in the piazzas).

⁶⁹ See above, Chapter 1, p. 16 and note 16. I find in addition a faint echo of Psalm 103. 15 in one of Thiofrid's letters ('facundia, quanta cor meum exhilarastis laetitia') (no. 200 in Wampach, *Geschichte*, I.2, 329).

⁷⁰ A search of the CLCLT database has resulted in six hits in vol. I, no hits in vol. II, and eleven hits in vol. III. If authors are counted, the count diminishes: four or five in vol. I (Cyprian, Paulinus of Nola who does not use the psalms in the appropriate meaning, Augustine, Gregorius Illiberitanus, Jerome including also his translations from Origen), and only seven in vol. III (Bernard of

deployment as we have observed above suggest that further consideration should be made of their use in the *Vita S. Liutwini*. My investigation of Thiofrid's use of these psalms and the way he constructs the image of the saintly prelate Liutwin shows further striking parallels with the way the psalms are applied to the poem's abbot and lends some support to Schroeder's hypothesis. My reading of the *Vita S. Liutwini*, however, also underscores the differences in the portrayal of the poem's abbot and the more elaborate representation of Liutwin as both abbot and bishop.

At the beginning of the *Vita S. Liutwini*, Thiofrid, following common medieval practice, appropriates the claim of scriptural hermeneutics for discovering the hidden meaning behind the letter of the saints' names, by which God already marked them by the grace of the Holy Spirit when he created them.⁷¹ Thiofrid interprets the vernacular names of Liutwin and his father Gerwin through a complex etymology that embraces both the vernacular and Latin and uncovers the hidden signification of the two names through the exegetical explication of numerous psalms, including 103. 15 and 22. 5:

generis lineam ducens Francorum regibus nomine Gerwinus, Gansa egregii Trevirorum archipraeulis Basini sorore felix coniuge, aequae nobili et genere et moribus, sed felicior in prole futurus, filium genuit, cui in sacri baptismatis unda, quodam praesagio futurorum Liutwin nomen imposuit. Aptum profecto ac mystica et patris et filii nominum congruentia, quia Gerwin gerens vel optans vinum. Liutwin vero, cum secundum os et organum Spiritus Sancti David vinum laetificet cor hominis [Psalm 103. 15], interpretatur populi laetitia. Et quid congruentius quam ut, divina praeordinante providentia, a gerente vel optante vinum populi nasceretur laetitia et in utriusque praesignaretur nomine quod futurum esset in utriusque opera, in utriusque nomine vinum sonat, quod Deum et homines laetificat? Sed diversa meritorum praerogativa pater Gerwin est dictus, quia cum secundum subtilissimi assertionem Augustini, adeo homines ex aqua facti sint, vinum itaque Gerwinus ex se quasi aqua produxit vinum, filium videlicet divinae sapientiae suavitatem praeditum vino compunctionis inebriaturum acquisitionis populum [1 Peter 2. 9]. Et filius Liutwin nomen est sortitus, quia vinum erat propinaturus, quod in nuptiis Christ et Ecclesiae admiratus est architriclinus [John 2. 9; Ephesians 5. 32]. [...] et per illum fidelis populi cor laetificaturus

Clairvaux, Gueric of Igny, William of St Thierry, Johannes Forda, Magister Mauritius, Paschasius Radbertus, Peter Lombard, and Rupert of Deutz).

⁷¹ This belief is expressed most explicitly in Isidore's *Etymologiae*; see especially I. 29 which discusses the 'vis' or power of a word (*Isidori hispalensis episcopi Etymologiae sive originum libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (New York: Oxford University Press, 1911; repr. 1985), s.p.). Its biblical applications are the subject of Jerome's treatise on Hebrew names (*Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*). It was common practice in hagiographic works. Thiofrid also shows a similar interest in saints' names in *Flores*, III. 1, where he says that the names of the saints have a power and importance that are superior to other relics when they are invoked by the faithful's voice.

per illum procul dubio calicem, de quo per psalmistam dicit Spiritus Sanctus: 'Et calyx tuus inebrians quam praeclarus est' [Psalm 22. 5] iure per Dei dispensationem a Gerwino patre ortus Liutwin idem laetitia populi nominatus est.⁷²

[Gerwin in his name, drawing his lineage from the kings of the Franks, was blessed in his wife Gunsa, who was sister of Basinus, the worthy Archbishop of Trier, and who was equally noble both in race and morals; but he would be even more blessed in his offspring. He begat a son, to whom, in the waters of holy baptism, he gave the name Liutwin as if by a presage of future things. Certainly there is an apt and mystical congruence in the names of father and son, because Gerwin means carrying or desiring wine. Liutwin indeed is interpreted the people's gladness, since wine gladdens the heart of men, according to David, the tongue and instrument of the Holy Spirit. And what is more congruent than that, as divine providence preordained, gladness should be born from one who carries or desires wine, and that in the name of each one should be pre-signified that which would be accomplished in the deeds of each? For wine sounds in both names, which gladdens God and men. Also, the father is called Gerwin by a different prerogative of merits, since, according to the assertion of the most subtle Augustine that men are made from water, Gerwin from himself as if water produced wine, a son filled with the sweetness of divine wisdom who will inebriate with the wine of compunction 'God's own people' [I Peter 2. 9]. And by fate his son drew the name Liutwin, because he would taste the wine at the wedding of God and the Church, which astonished the chief steward. [...] And since through him the heart of the faithful people will become glad, no doubt through that cup, of which the Holy Spirit says through the Psalmist, 'and my chalice which inebrieth me, how goodly is it' [Psalm 22. 5, Douay version], rightly then through God's dispensation Liutwin born from the father Gerwin was named 'the people's gladness'.]

In his description of Gerwin as 'felix coniuge [...] sed felicius in prole futurus', Thiofrid may be exploiting the second part of the name Gerwin, connecting it to the OHG 'wunna' (corresponding to the OE 'wynn'), meaning joy or gladness.⁷³ Gerwinus will be happy or blessed in his future offspring, his son, on whom, by a prophetic act, he would impose the name Liutwin. But Gerwin can also mean, in Thiofrid's etymological system of combining both Latin and the vernacular, 'somebody who carries or desires wine'.⁷⁴ And indeed, this is an appropriate name for Liutwin's father. Liutwin means 'the people's gladness' in its vernacular etymology.⁷⁵

⁷² *Vita Liutwini*, Cap. I (ed. by Lampen, pp. 5–7).

⁷³ 'Win' in reality does not derive from OHG 'wunna' (= OE 'wynn'), but from OHG 'wini' (= OE 'wine'), which means 'friend'. Could one suspect that Thiofrid knew and was influenced by the OE?

⁷⁴ Taking 'ger-' for the Latin 'gero' and the OHG 'gēron' ('want, wish') and 'winus' for the Latin 'uinum' and the OHG 'wīn' (wine).

⁷⁵ 'Liut' = people in OHG. See note above for the second theme. One must wonder as well if Thiofrid may have been aware of the OE common noun 'leodwynn' meaning 'home joy' (John R.

Hence 'by an apt and mystical congruence' the names of father and son are joined, for Gerwin is interpreted as 'bearing or desiring wine', while Liutwin means 'the people's gladness', for he gladdens man's heart, just as the wine, in the words of the Psalmist.

Thiofrid then carries the etymological discussion even further, suggesting that the word for wine, which gladdens both God and man, 'sounds (is heard) in both names'. Following Augustine, who states that men are made from water, and referring to the wedding at Cana, when Jesus turned water into wine, Thiofrid describes Gerwin as water who produces a son who is wine, a 'son who will be filled with the sweetness of divine wisdom and who will inebriate with the wine of compunction God's own people' (1 Peter 2. 9). Liutwin is here portrayed in his Eucharistic role, who will administer to his people the sacrificial wine, the real blood of Christ. He would taste the Eucharistic wine, prefigured by the miraculous wine drawn from water at the wedding of Cana, which at the same time prefigures the marriage of Christ and the Church, which makes men part of Christ's own body, as Paul stated in Ephesians. An integrated hermeneutic etymology thus marks Liutwin from the beginning in his sacramental role of priest and bishop. Liutwin will give joy to the people, which is interpreted to mean that Liutwin will confer to the people of God the 'divina sacramenta', and will inebriate the children of mother church with 'the wine of suavity': 'Hierarcha quippe futurus affatim divina sacramenta erat dispensaturus et inenarrabilis suavitatis vino sanctae Matris Ecclesiae subolem inebriaturus.'⁷⁶ Beyond the immediate context of the use of the psalms, Thiofrid also portrays Liutwin as a wise and prudent manager because he dispenses the wheat of the Gospel in a just measure to Trier, Rheims, and Laon, the three cities under his episcopal charge,⁷⁷ and they are sated because 'bread has been given them and "their waters assured" (Isaiah 33. 16)'.⁷⁸ We can see then how the founder of Mettlach in Thiofrid's *Vita* is depicted through images that recall those in the idealized portrait of the poem's abbot. In both the poem and the *Vita S. Liutwini*, the central figure cares for the physical well-being of his people, but, more importantly, he fulfils a

Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th edn, with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), s.v.).

⁷⁶ *Vita Liutwini*, Cap. I, ed. by Lampen, p. 7.

⁷⁷ Liutwin, however, was never Bishop of Rheims and Laon. For the source of Thiofrid's mistake, see *Vita Liutwini*, ed. by Lampen, p. 31 n. 1.

⁷⁸ *Vita Liutwini*, Cap. XII, ed. by Lampen, p. 31: 'omnibus solvit debitum, singulis fidelis dispensator et prudens evangelicum in tempore aequa mensura divisit triticum [...] panis eis datus est et aquae fideles et sunt satiatæ'.

double sacramental function, through the administration of the Eucharist and through his preaching of the word of God. The abbot of the poem, like Liutwin, feeds his monks through both these actions. The conflation of Bible and Eucharist by references to wine and bread, and to physical and spiritual foods, is strikingly found in both poem and hagiographic text.

The *Vita S. Liutwini*, however, is a long and complex text,⁷⁹ with many elaborate images that have no echoes in the shorter, simpler poem. The most significant of these is the striking use of maternal metaphors and maternal imagery to define Liutwin's role as abbot and bishop, which are absent from the poem. In the passage below, for example, Thiofrid reworks the metaphor of Jesus as a mother hen in Matthew 23. 37, which would become particularly popular in monastic writings in the following decades:⁸⁰

Paternus affectus et maternus ei inerat animus et quasi solus omnes genuisset, sic omnium invigilabat saluti et profectibus; tamquam si nutrix foveat filios suos et gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas [Matthew 23. 37], sic universos affabilitatis et condensationis dulcedine refovebat, sic sibi omnes, sic se omnibus applicabat ut merito diceretur pater patriae, et corona exultationis et gloriae [Sirach 1. 11].⁸¹

The image of the abbot as mother, which Thiofrid so strikingly applies to Liutwin, is absent from the poem, whose abbot is portrayed more traditionally as a paternal figure. What is new in the poem, which also finds echo in the hagiographic text, is the addition of Eucharistic imagery to the traditional fare of biblical food that the abbot provides for his charges. Such intense interest in the Eucharist is also found in the writings of Thiofrid and in the holdings of the monastic library.

⁷⁹ Its prolixity led the Bollandists not to publish this text; see *AASS*, September, VIII (1762), p. 161, at paragraph 4.

⁸⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing', in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 110–69.

⁸¹ *Vita Liutwini*, Cap. X (ed. by Lampen, p. 29) (His soul contained both paternal and maternal affection, and almost as if he alone had given birth to all, thus he watched over their well-being and progress: just as a nurse cherishes her children and as 'a hen gathers her brood under her wings' (Matthew 23. 37), thus he restored all with the sweetness of his affability and condescension so that he might with merit be called 'father of the fatherland' and 'gladness and a crown of rejoicing' (Sirach 1. 11)).

The Case for Thiofrid's Authorship

It may now be useful to review what evidence has emerged in support of and against the attribution of 'Salue abba mitissime' to the pen of Thiofrid of Echternach. In an earlier section, I showed how the palaeographical and codicological study of the bifolium and of the codex in which it was enclosed has undermined Schroeder's case for linking the scribe of the poem with Thiofrid. No external evidence of authorship remains; only the contents of the poem, and whatever relationship to the works of Thiofrid they may evince, can provide any evidence. My investigation has shown that both Echternach's books and the writings of Thiofrid, the only known Echternach author of the second half of the eleventh century,⁸² reflect Eucharistic interests similar to those that emerge from my reading of 'Salue abba mitissime'. It is significant that the two psalms associated with the formulation of the Eucharistic position in Paschasius Radbertus's *De corpore* are used in 'Salue' as well as in Thiofrid's *Flores* and the *Vita S. Liutwini*. Yet, as we saw, there are differences between Thiofrid's technical Eucharistic idiom in the *Flores* and the more general Eucharistic language of the poem, just as there are differences between the complex figure of Liutwin and the generalized abbot of the poem. My analysis of the contents, style, and cultural background of 'Salue' situates the poem clearly within the cultural and religious interests of Echternach in the second half of the eleventh century, Thiofrid's lifetime. The links between 'Salue' and Thiofrid are tantalizing, but they remain too tenuous in my estimation to assign the poem to his pen with certainty.

The uncertain status of 'Salue abba mitissime' within Thiofrid's literary opus is not unique, since scholars continue to debate the catalogue of Thiofrid's writings. There is general agreement on the authenticity of three major works — the *Vita S. Liutwini*, composed in 1072–80; the *Flores*, composed after 1102; and the *opus geminatum* on St Willibrord, composed around 1105 — and of two sermons, composed after 1105.⁸³ All these texts contain internal evidence of authorship.

⁸² Three 'magistri' are mentioned by name — Wichmundus, Thietboldus, Lanfrancus — in Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 9, written at Echternach in the late eleventh century, a study of which has been announced by Michele C. Ferrari (*Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 58).

⁸³ Michele Camillo Ferrari, 'Die Rezeption von Thiofrids Hauptwerken: Von den Handschriften des XII. Jahrhunderts bis zur heutigen Forschung', *Sacris Erudiri*, 34 (1994), 239–71. The *Vita Willibrordi (prosa and metrica)* is published in *AASS*, November, III, 459–500; the verse *Vita* is also published in *Thiofridi epternacensis Vita Willibrordi metrica ex cod. Gothano edidit, recensuit, prolegomenis commentario indicibus instruxit Konradus Rossberg*, ed. by Konrad Rossberg (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883); the sermons are published in *Thiofridi Sermones*, ed. by Werveke.

Serious doubts remain about the attribution to Thiofrid of several minor works for which there is no internal evidence.⁸⁴

A rhetorical characteristic that brands Thiofrid's undisputed major compositions is a preference for the so-called hermeneutic style. This literary fashion is characterized by ornate grammatical and syntactical constructions, by metaphorical and symbolic language, and, most clearly, by a preference for rare, even obscure vocabulary, frequently of Greek derivation and frequently attested in the writers of late antiquity.⁸⁵ 'Salve abba mitissime' uses two words that belong to the hermeneutic lexicon. One is the adjective *raucidus* (4, 3). Before the eleventh century, this word is attested only in Prudentius and Aldhelm of Malmesbury, the former a favourite late antique source for arcane words and the latter perhaps the most famous (or infamous) practitioner of the hermeneutic style. The second is *ligula* (7, 2), also a rare word, occurring among exponents of the hermeneutic style. It can mean 'spoon, measure' or be used as a diminutive of *lingua*. In the former meaning it is found in Aldhelm, for example; in the latter, rarer meaning it occurs in the late antique poets, including Prudentius, and in Hrosvit of Gandersheim. It is as a diminutive of *lingua* that it is used in 'Salve', where the scribe's (wrong) word

⁸⁴ These are the *Vita Irminae* (BHL 4471–72), ed. by Ludwig Weiland, MGH, SS, 23, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz and others (Hannover: Hahn, 1874; repr. 1963), pp. 148–50, and 'Prologus', ed. by Albert Poncelet, in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi. Ediderunt hagiographi bollandiani*, 3 vols, Subsidia Hagiographica, 2 (Brussels: apud editores, 1889–93; repr. Brussels, 1983), II, 585–86; see Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 59–61; Ferrari, 'Rezeption von Thiofrids Hauptwerken', p. 240, n. 3; three sequences written at the end of the eleventh century (Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 45–46, with earlier bibliography); an office for St Wilgisus assigned to Thiofrid by Lochner ('La Culture musicale', I, 216, suggesting further that the music which originally was included would be evidence of Thiofrid's musicianship) but rejected by Ferrari (*Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 43–44); and two sermons on relics (published in *PL*, 157, cols 405–10, rejected by Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, p. 47).

⁸⁵ The term 'hermeneutic' as applied to style derives from the sources of many of these lexical rarities, the comparative lists of Greek and Latin words known as *hermeneumata* that circulated in the Middle Ages. This explains the homonymy with the adjective 'hermeneutic' meaning 'interpretative', for translating and interpreting were seen as parts of the same activity. An introduction to the style is provided by Michael Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 67–111, and repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 105–49. On Thiofrid's style, see most recently Gernot R. Wieland, 'The Hermeneutic Style of Thiofrid of Echternach', in *Anglo-Latin and its Heritage: Essays in Honour of A. G. Rigg on his 64th Birthday*, ed. by S. Echard and G. R. Wieland (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 27–45.

‘liguta’ was corrected into ‘ligula’.⁸⁶ Like many words popular in the hermeneutic style, this one too is found in Priscian, who includes it in his discussion of the formation of the diminutive.⁸⁷ A copy of Priscian’s *Institutiones*, not surprisingly, has survived from Echternach’s well-stocked medieval library, with numerous Latin and Celtic vernacular glosses, including one, ‘loi’, for ‘ligula’.⁸⁸ It is tempting to speculate that Priscian may well have been the source for our poet’s use, and for the corrector. Neither *raucidus*, however, nor *ligula* is found in the works of Thiofrid, a fact that diminishes, though not completely, the significance of this evidence for his authorship. Thiofrid’s attachment to the hermeneutic style grew with time. Of the three major works, the *Vita Willibrordi* is the most hermeneutic, and probably was the latest to be written. The *Vita S. Liutwini*, on the other hand, is the least hermeneutic, and is the only one composed when Thiofrid was still a monk, before he became abbot. If we postulate that ‘Salue’ is an early composition of Thiofrid, a premise that is supported by the meter as I discussed above, then such attribution would be more convincing, though still far from certain.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ This correction would be particularly noteworthy if it could be determined that it had been done by a different hand than the scribe’s, for this would be an additional argument against the suggestion that the scribe was also its author (i.e. Thiofrid).

⁸⁷ *Institutiones*, III. 42 (*Prisciani Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII ex recensione Martini Hertzii*, ed. by Martin Hertz, in *Grammatici latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii*, ed. by Heinrich Keil, vols II–III (Leipzig: Teubner, 1855–59; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961), II, 113).

⁸⁸ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10290, fol. 33^r. See Ó Cróinín, ‘Old Irish and Old English Glosses’, p. 99, for the vernacular (*loi*) gloss.

⁸⁹ A simple illustration of Thiofrid’s growing penchant for hermeneutic vocabulary is provided by the phrase ‘ante habere nomina quam corpora’ in the *Vita Liutwini* (Cap. I, ed. by Lampen, p. 6), which is repeated in the *Flores*, III. 1 (ed. by Ferrari, p. 2) as ‘multo gloriosiora sunt eorum nomina quam somata’ — a perfectly good Latin word is substituted with a Greek one.

‘O SACRATA DIES’: POETRY AS *LECTIO DIVINA*

‘O sacrata dies’ consists of fourteen couplets, most of which place characters or episodes of the Old Testament in a typological relationship to the New Testament. Couplet 7 follows a similar pattern but within the New Testament, where the fattened calf in the parable of the prodigal son is seen as a figure of Christ. Several couplets in the second half of the poem relate the mystical significance of the last events of Christ’s life on earth, which anticipate his Second Coming at the end of time. The poem illustrates the unity of the Scriptures, supporting the traditional understanding that the Bible has both a literal and a spiritual meaning and that these two meanings are related in the same way as the Old and the New Testament.¹ The spiritual meaning of the Old Testament consists of its figurative and prophetic signification of the New Testament. The New Testament also has a prophetic spiritual or mystical meaning, for the events of the Gospels, the story of Christ’s Incarnation, look forward to God’s salvation of humankind.

The formal and defining characteristic of ‘O sacrata dies’ is its metre, the quantitative epanaleptic elegiac couplet, which establishes and guides the poem’s exegetic strategy. The elegiac couplet, a common verse form in Latin poetry, consists of a hexameter followed by a so-called pentameter.² Its tendency towards self-

¹ A classic study is found in Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l’Écriture* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959–84), partly available in English as *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 1: *The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. by Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), especially pp. 225–67 (‘The Unity of the Two Testaments’). See also Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, pp. 80–81, for a more direct application of this idea to the monastic setting.

² The second verse is in reality another hexameter, except that the third and sixth feet omit the last half of the dactyl.

containment makes it ideal to express juxtaposed ideas or themes, turning on the diaeresis which by necessity occurs in the second verse and which begins the resolution of the theme introduced in the first verse.³ The epanalepsis is a further elaboration of this metrical scheme. It consists in the exact duplication of the first hemistich as last hemistich — the first part of the hexameter (the first two and one half feet before caesura) is repeated word for word as the second half of the pentameter (after diaeresis). The verse can be represented as A + B / c + a, where each letter corresponds to a hemistich. By necessity, the third foot of the hexameter has to have a caesura (so that the preceding section can be repeated as the second half of the pentameter), and metrical requirements encourage each hemistich to be a syntactical unit.

The epanaleptic elegiac couplet had been rarely used in classical times,⁴ but the early Christian poet Sedulius (fl. 425–50) realized the exegetic possibilities of its perfect and asymmetric bipartition.⁵ In his *Hymnus* 1 (suitably known as ‘Colatio’), Sedulius used this verse form to mimic the typological correspondence between the Old and New Testaments: A and a are the element common to type and realization, while B expands on the Old Testament figure, and c on its New Testament fulfilment.⁶

Sedulius’s innovative joining of classical form and Christian content had very few imitators in the Middle Ages. The verse form was used for the same typological

³ Martial’s epigrams are perhaps the best-known examples of the use of the metre to fit the content.

⁴ Anton Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* von J. B. Hofmann neubearbeitet von Anton Szantyr (Munich: Beck, 1963–65), pp. 811–12.

⁵ Francesco Stella, *Poesia e teologia: L’Occidente latino tra IV e VIII secolo* (Milan: Jaca book, 2001), p. 56. I follow Stella’s discussion of this invention by Sedulius, which is overlooked in other studies of his poetry.

⁶ Sedulius’s works are edited by Huemer, *Sedulii opera omnia*. In addition to the famous *Carmen paschale*, only two hymns have come down to us. The abecedarian *Hymnus* 2 (‘A solis ortus cardine’) is better known and appreciated as an Epiphany hymn. *Hymnus* 1, on the contrary, remains little known. Cf. F. J. E. Raby’s caustic remark, ‘It is unnecessary to comment on this exercise of perverse ingenuity’ (*A History of Christian-Latin Poetry: From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953; repr. 1997), p. 109). Sedulius’s poetry has been seen to reflect the popularity of typology during the fifth century evident in the figurative arts, especially in iconography. Caroline Dermot Small, ‘Rhetoric and Exegesis in Sedulius’ *Carmen Paschale*’, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 37 (1986), 223–44, especially pp. 225–26; Stella, *Poesia e teologia*, p. 49; André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origin*, A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 10, 1961, Bollingen Series, 35 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 137–46.

purpose in *Carmen* 16 of Hrabanus Maurus, in clear imitation of Sedulius. There is no other medieval author who used the verse form in precisely the same manner, as far as we know, apart from the Echternach poet. The late antique and medieval poets who employed the epanaleptic elegiac couplet did not exploit its typological possibilities.⁷ 'O sacrata dies', therefore, is a rarity because of its Sedulian imitation. My analysis of the poem will first look at metre and its contents in relation to the earlier two models. I will then make the case that this comparison suggests that the poem ought not to be regarded primarily as a virtuoso re-creation of an antique archetype, but that it is best understood as an expression of Echternach's eleventh-century scholarly culture, grounded on the meditative study of the Bible and its patristic exegesis, *lectio divina*. Echoing 'Salve abba mitissime', 'O sacrata dies' is another illustration of the centrality of the spiritual exposition of the Scriptures in the early Middle Ages.

Similar to the poems of Sedulius and Hrabanus Maurus, 'O sacrata dies' uses the format of the elegiac couplet as a visible and audible representation of its theological message. The epanalepsis reflects the mirror image of its typological contents, according to which the events of the Old Testament not only preceded those of the New within the continuum of sacred history, but were linked to them in God's providential plan for human redemption. The asymmetry of the two verses

⁷ This unusual verse form is placed among acrostics, carmina figurata, and 'other poetic artifices' which the Middle Ages inherited from Late Antiquity. Cf. Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta universitatis stockholmiensis, Studia latina stockholmiensis, 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), p. 62, but Norberg does not explore or discuss the purposes to which this metre was put. Wilhelm Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, vol. I (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905; repr. 1961), p. 94, lists the metre among the rhymed hexameters. Epanaleptic elegiacs are found, for example, in the *Anthologia Latina* (*Anthologia latina sive poesis latinae supplementum*, ed. by Franz Bücheler and Alexander Riese, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1869–70; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1972–73), nos 81 and 194 (pp. 111–12, 194–95)), among the poems of Venantius Fortunatus (*Carmina*, III. 30 in *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri italici opera poetica*, ed. by Friedrich Leo, MGH, AA, 4.1, pars prior (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881; repr. 1961), pp. 77–78), and in Carolingian works (e.g. *Pauli et Petri diaconorum Carmina*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, MGH, PLAC, I (Munich: MGH, 1881; repr. 1978), nos 2, 4, 42 (pp. 36–41, 42–43, 75)) — none with typological application. Bede's *De opere sex dierum primordialium et de sex aetatibus mundi* (*Hymnus Bedae presbyteri de opere sex dierum primordialium et de sex aetatibus mundi*, ed. by Johannes Fraipont, CCSL, 122 (1955), pp. 407–11) on the other hand, is a different metrical expression of typology: the six ages of the world are linked typologically to the six days of creation in four-line stanzas (one stanza for the figure, the other for the realization) where the first line of the first stanza is repeated in the last line of the second stanza. See Stella, *Poesia e teologia*, pp. 158–60.

— hexameter and pentameter — is just as crucial, for the imbalance between the hexameter and the pentameter maintains the hierarchical relationship between the two episodes, in which the realization in the concluding verse is privileged over the figure or antetype of the first verse. The fifth couplet is a clear illustration of the pattern, for here the epanalepsis highlights one of the most common typological examples in biblical exegesis. The words ‘hostia sacra patris’ apply both to the Old Testament Isaac in the hexameter and to the New Testament Christ in the pentameter. Isaac sacrificed by his father is spatially and metrically differentiated from Christ, the perfect victim of the Father, which the antetype can only represent or prefigure.

The poem focuses on three closely related events, Christ’s Passion and defeat of hell, his Resurrection and Ascension into heaven, and his Second Coming on Judgement Day. The first couplet, without epanalepsis,⁸ opens with a hymn-like invocation to Easter Sunday, the ‘sacrata dies’ of the first line, which, oxymoronically, receives its light from the preceding night, when Christ descended into hell and rescued his chosen ones from its prison. The Fathers had taught that the descent of Christ’s soul into hell was to defeat it and thus lead victoriously into heaven those whom hell held unjustly, such as the Old Testament patriarchs.⁹ Augustine’s words ‘Tempora variata sunt, non fides’, may be echoed here, from a passage that would serve as an appropriate introduction to the poem’s hermeneutic message. In his exegesis of John’s parable of the Good Shepherd (John 10. 1–10), Augustine uses these words in his explanation that the just who lived before ‘Christ humbly came in the flesh’ and ‘who believed that he would come, just as we believe that he has come’ also entered the sheepfold through the door which is Christ. Words are changed according to time because words are signs, and they carry meanings that vary according to time. ‘He will come’ has a different sound from ‘He has come’. But the same faith joins those who believe that he will come and those who believe that he has come. The Augustinian idea thus applies both to the precise content of this couplet (Christ’s harrowing of hell), but also to the hermeneutic

⁸ Sedulius’s poem also begins with an invocation that lacks epanalepsis: ‘Cantemus, socii, Domino, cantemus honorem / Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio’ (Let us sing to the Lord, oh comrades, let us sing His honour / Let the sweet love of Christ resound on our pious mouth). Hrabanus uses two epanaleptic couplets as invocation.

⁹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. III: *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 154, makes clear the difference between Christ’s Passion (for the salvation of humankind) and his harrowing of hell (for those unjustly held there).

stance that is developed in the remainder of the poem, which unifies the periods before and after the Incarnation.¹⁰

The Resurrection of Christ, the central focus of Easter, occupies couplets 2–4. The day of the Resurrection (Easter) is the new 'first day' when death is destroyed and is prefigured by the first day of Genesis, the first day of creation, when darkness was destroyed by the creator God. The second couplet hence recalls the poem's opening by its use of light imagery and by the common literary association of Christ with Light, as in the ancient liturgical hymns of Ambrose¹¹ and, even more relevant, in the Easter liturgy. During the Easter Vigil, the physical darkness that had marked the liturgical rites of the previous three nights (to symbolize Christ's death and the darkness of his tomb) is broken by the elaborate ritual of the lighting of the new fire and of the Paschal candle and by the ensuing illumination of the entire church.¹²

In the third couplet, a different spatial relationship is established between meaning and metre, represented by $A + C / b + a$, in which two Old Testament scenes alternate with New Testament ones. The first day of Creation was named the Lord's Day ('domenicus dies') proleptically, because on that day the Lord would rise from the abyss of hell; the Old Testament scene of the second line (Psalm 56. 9) is read as a figure of the Resurrection, in which God the Father calls on Christ, who is commonly identified as the 'Glory of the Father' in his resurrected state.¹³ The verb *dicitur* is used in two different meanings in this couplet, an intentional application, perhaps, of the rhetorical figure of *ploce*. The reading of the next couplet (4) is informed by the traditional exegesis of the Hosea passage to refer to Christ and his defeat of death and hell. Its ultimate source is Augustine's *Tractatus XII* on the Gospel of John. I will return to this couplet and to the enigmatic first half of the pentameter below.

¹⁰ Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium tractatus*, XLV, ed. by Willems, pp. 388–97 (p. 392).

¹¹ For example, Hymn 2, whose opening stanza is 'Splendor paternae gloriae / de luce lucem proferens / lux lucis et fons luminis / dies dierum illuminans' (Splendour of the paternal glory / bringing forth light from light / light of light and source of light / illuminating the days of days). See Ambrose, *Hymnes*, ed. and trans. by Carlet and others, pp. 179–208.

¹² John H. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 146–47.

¹³ The Psalm was seen to signify Christ rising from the dead in Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, LVI. 9. 16, ed. by Eligius Dekkers and Jean Fraipont, CCSL, 39 (1956), pp. 705–06: 'Exsurge, Gloria mea; glorificetur Iesus post passionem' (Glory, rise quickly: Jesus will be glorified after his passion). See also Ambrose's hymn in note 10 above.

The poem then steps back and presents three sets of images, one concerning the Passion, another concerning the Resurrection, and a third on the Ascension and Final Judgement. First, couplets 5 and 6 appose, without ambiguity, two Old Testament scenes (the sacrifice of Isaac, the lamb slaughtered for the Passover of the Israelites from Egypt) as types of the Passion and death of Christ. The Evangelist Luke as the calf¹⁴ and the fatted calf in Luke's parable of the prodigal son are presented in couplet 7 as figures of Christ's sacrificial Passion, but also as symbols of Christ's body that is eaten in the Eucharist. Luke as the calf commonly represented Christ in his Passion when the symbols of the four Evangelists were used as building blocks to construct the image of the body of Christ.¹⁵ Similarly, the fatted calf that was slaughtered by the father in rejoicing that his prodigal son had returned is frequently connected with Christ's sacrifice.¹⁶

The poem then moves forward to Christ's Resurrection and its salvific effects at the end of time, prefigured in four Old Testament images. Elisha in the grave who raises the cadaver that touches him is counterbalanced by the countless ones who will be raised at the end of time (couplet 8). We may read an implied comparison between the prophet who is so 'longe mortuus' that he has been reduced

¹⁴ The pronoun 'Hic', of couplet 7, refers to the Evangelist Luke, whose iconographic animal symbol was the calf (and is indicated by the marginal gloss). I do not believe that 'hic' is to be taken as evidence that these verses were written over an actual picture. Rather, the pronoun wants to stress the symbolic identity between calf and Luke. See further below.

¹⁵ For example, in the Prologue of the *Allegoriae in Evangelia*, PL, 175, cols 751–52: 'ad Christum, qui natus est homo, et ut homo passus est, ut vitulus, resurrexit ut leo, ascendit ut aquila. Unusquisque etiam perfectus: homo est in ratione, vitulus in sacrificio, leo in fortitudine, aquila in contemplatione' (to Christ, who was born a man, and as a man he suffered like the calf, rose up as the lion, ascended like the eagle. Each one indeed perfect: a man in reason, a calf in sacrifice, a lion in strength, an eagle in contemplation). These are ancient images, widespread already among the Fathers and codified by Carolingian exegetes. Robert E. McNally, S.J., *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1959), p. 60.

¹⁶ E.g., in Bede's *In Lucae Euangelium expositio*, IV. xv. 23, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 120 (1960), pp. 291–92: 'Vitulus saginatus, ipse item Dominus est, sed secundum carnem' (The fatted calf, it is the Lord himself, but according to the flesh). The same image is found in Hrabanus's *De universo libri viginti duo*, VII. 8 (PL, 111, col. 209B–C): 'Vitulus Christus in Evangelio: Adducite vitulum saginatum et occidite' (The calf is Christ in the Gospel: Bring the fatted calf and kill it). Its explicit connection with the Eucharistic food as is here is found in the eleventh century, e.g., in Bruno of Segni's *Commentaria in Lucam*, II, cap. XV (PL, 165, col. 418A–B): 'Hic enim vitulus saginatus, Christus est [...] et a fidelibus comeditur quoties in hoc altaris sacramento immolatur' (This fatted calf, indeed it is Christ [...] and he is eaten by the faithful whenever he is sacrificed on the sacrament of the altar).

to bare bones in the biblical story and the dead whose bodies will be fully and completely restored at the resurrection, even if they have been long dead and completely decomposed. Then the Lion of Judah is offered as a symbol of the Resurrection of Christ in couplet 9. The couplet draws on the tradition already established by the commentary on Psalm 101 attributed to Gregory I.¹⁷ Here the commentator had allegorized Judah's lion of Genesis 49. 9 ('catulus leonis Iuda a praeda fili mi ascendisti / requiescens accubuisti ut leo') and 5. 5 ('Vivit leo de tribu Iuda') as signifying Christ, who willingly lies down and gives up his life, and who by the power of his divinity rose up again and ascended into heaven.¹⁸ The use of the adjective *vigili* in this couplet aims to emphasize Christ's resurrection by his own power, a point that is made explicitly in the following couplet. Enoch and Elijah, who are taken into heaven without dying (couplet 10), are paralleled by 'the first and the last, and the living one', at the beginning of Revelation, who says 'I was dead, and see, I am alive forever and ever, and I have the keys of Death and Hades' (Revelation 1. 17–18). Samson who carries away the gates of the fortress of Gaza (couplet 11) is the final image of this quartet. I will come back to this material more fully below.

The next and last three couplets centre on Christ's Ascension and the Second Coming at the Last Judgement.¹⁹ The Evangelist John, both in his iconographic figure as the eagle²⁰ and as the beloved disciple who lay on Jesus's bosom and was able to understand Christ's divinity, the prophet Elijah, who was present at Christ's Transfiguration and will come before the Final Judgement (Malachi

¹⁷ The *In Septem psalmos poenitentiales expositio* (PL, 79, cols 549–658) was in reality composed by Heribertus, contemporary Bishop of Reggio Emilia (see Stegmüller, II, 2649).

¹⁸ *In Septem psalmos poenitentiales expositio*, PL, 79, col. 609: 'Sed nullus eum suscitavit, quia per divinitatis suae potentiam ipse a mortuis resurrexit. Et quia post resurrectionem suam in coelum ascendit' (But nobody raised him, because he himself rose from the dead by the power of his divinity. And because after his resurrection he ascended into heaven).

¹⁹ See Pelikan, *Growth of Medieval Theology*, pp. 152–57, for a discussion of the relationship between the Resurrection and the Ascension and the Final Coming, and for the central importance of the Ascension in the plan of salvation.

²⁰ Cf. the identification of John as eagle to the ascended Christ because 'Aquila non juxta, sed supra describitur; quia [A]scensionem designat, et Deitatem pronuntiat. Cum autem sint quatuor animalia, supra omnia commoratur aquila' (*Allegoriae in Evangelia*, Prologue, PL, 175, cols 751–52) (The eagle is described not as next, but above; because it signifies the Ascension, and announces divinity. While there are four animals, the eagle abides above all of them). I have capitalized 'Ascensionem' for it is clear that the passage refers to Christ's Ascension and not to the simple ascension of an eagle.

4. 5),²¹ and Adam, who lost the heavenly fatherland, are each contrasted to Christ, who has ascended into heaven and will restore humankind to its ancestral home in paradise. The invocation in the last couplet parallels the opening. Like all prayers, this hymn-like poem too looks forward to the world to come, the world without end.

Clearly, the ancient, though limited, typological tradition of the epanaleptic elegiac couplet provided the direct inspiration for the Echternach composition. Sedulius was well known in the Middle Ages as a school poet.²² A compendium of early Christian Latin poetry, including Sedulius's *Carmen paschale* and *Hymnus* 1, was copied at Echternach in the flurry of scribal activity of the late tenth century, and one can imagine that this very volume was consulted by the Echternach poet.²³ There are also internal indications, cited in my edition's notes, that the author of 'O sacrata dies' knew the poem of Sedulius and that of Hrabanus. Yet, the relationship of 'O sacrata dies' to its models is not simply imitation, especially in balance to Hrabanus's slavish use of the Sedulian archetype.²⁴ 'O sacrata dies' echoes verbally the earlier poems only twice (couplets 5 and 6), and in no other place. Even these lexical references are deployed, however, in such a way that the reader cannot discern which poem is their immediate source. The rhyming of all four hemistichs within each couplet of 'O sacrata dies' — not found in Sedulius or in Hrabanus — is not only a manifestation of the increasing popularity of rhyme in the eleventh century, but also may suggest the poet's desire to transcend the established models

²¹ John was frequently coupled with Elijah, both present at the Transfiguration, as in Ambrose Autpertus (d. 784), *Homilia de transfiguratione Domini*, 14, ed. by Robert Weber, CCCM, 27B (1979), p. 1017, which is strikingly similar to the wording of our poem 'Helias, ut superiora peteret, in curru igneo ascendit, Ioannes uero, ut secreta Verbi penetraret, in flammeo Christi pectore recubuit' (Elijah ascended in a fiery chariot, so that he might seek the higher place, John indeed, so that he might penetrate the Word's secrets, rested on the fiery breast of Christ).

²² B. Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1991), pp. 66–68.

²³ Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694, where the final nine lines are missing. For descriptions, see Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509–10; Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, pp. 39–43 (but his contents' description, wrongly, includes only Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*); Gottfried Kantenich, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, vol. x: *Die philologischen Handschriften* (Trier: Stadtbibliothek, 1931), pp. 22–26, which is only partially accurate, for it includes *Hymnus* 2, which is not found in the manuscript. See Chapter 7, pp. 199–203, for my remarks on the glossing.

²⁴ Hrabanus not only echoes much of Sedulius's composition, but repeats many of his predecessor's verses verbatim. See the *apparatus fontium* in Dümmler's edition of the *Carmina*, especially pp. 180–81.

even in metrical technique. Most significantly, while both Sedulius and Hrabanus treated the entire life of Christ through key episodes without rigid order,²⁵ the Echternach poet instead restricted his attention to the three events that converge and are commemorated at Easter: Christ's Passion, his Resurrection from the dead and his Ascension into heaven, and the Second Coming and Last Judgement. I believe that this poem's concentration on the crucial events of Christian history diminishes its character as a typological tour de force and allows the typological import of these episodes to be more fully disclosed. While Sedulius's and Hrabanus's poems by comparison read as chronologically driven schematic and static juxtapositions of scenes from biblical history, whose purpose, in Hrabanus's words, is to enunciate 'signent quid prisca figuris, / Quid reseret Christus'²⁶ — in effect what one ought to believe — the Echternach poem creates a more dynamic typology by looking both backwards and forwards from the vantage point of the events celebrated on Easter Day. Such focused construction can more easily draw out the implications of the typological reading of the Scriptures for a monastic community (and Christians in general). Just as the historical Jesus of the New Testament who died and rose from the dead and ascended into heaven fulfilled the prophecies of the Old Testament, so also the exalted Jesus, pictured in the poem as sitting at the right hand of the Father both in glory and in judgement at the end of time, will fulfill the promise made in the New Testament to all those who choose to follow and imitate him. The unfolding of this multilayered relationship was the key function of typology within the system of the spiritual reading of the Scriptures.²⁷

²⁵ Both Sedulius 1 and Hrabanus 16 begin with scenes from Eden and conclude with the Final Judgement (Sedulius) and Christ's Resurrection (Hrabanus). Many episodes from the Old Testament are related, along with their New Testament parallels. As the cycle begins again with the New Testament events, the chronological order becomes confused; some episodes of both the Old Testament and the New Testament are used more than once (e.g. Hrabanus 16. 11–12 and 99–102 (*Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, pp. 179, 181), all about the virgin birth). Also, the typological correspondence is frequently abandoned (e.g., Sedulius 1. 53–54, 59–60 (*Opera omnia*, ed. by Huemer, p. 159)). Further work on both poems is necessary.

²⁶ Hrabanus 16. 3–4 (*Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, p. 178) (what ancient things signify by figures, what Christ unlocks).

²⁷ For a discussion of typology that stresses the implications of the Pauline typological understanding of the New Testament, see A. C. Charity, *Events and their Afterlife: The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), passim, especially pp. 87–98, and the conclusions on 'Applied Typology', pp. 158–64. I strongly disagree with his view, however, that the Fathers' (and therefore the medieval) distinction of the various senses of Scripture loosened typology's relation between ethics and history and limited

This narrow focus thus ensures that the poem does not become a simple puzzle, whose signal requirement is that we identify and place in the right context the various and different episodes and figures portrayed in each couplet — for here, unlike in Sedulius's and Hrabanus's compositions, the topical concentration renders the identifications easier to solve (and lessens the reader's anxiety).²⁸ Rather, as I hope to illustrate in the following discussion through key passages, the poem's 'solution' of its typological images hinges on its relationship with the patristic hermeneutical tradition, the scholarly component of biblical poetry and of much medieval literature. It is this tradition that illuminates the relationship between antetype and fulfilment and its implications, which are the central elements of the poem.

Patristic Exegesis and Lectio divina

The spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures was applied in the patristic tradition to moral life. This approach, especially associated with Gregory I,²⁹ was still championed in a sermon attributed to Peter Damian, stating that 'Dissolutis nebulis allegoriae, hunc etiam rivulum Scripturae ad inrigandos mores nostros possumus trahere'.³⁰ Within this discourse, typology sought to manifest the concept of the

typology to its allegorical function. Rather, I follow de Lubac's broader view that typology was understood by the Fathers in its prophetic meaning, and as signifying the fundamental principle of Scriptural allegory, which was to 'express the link that spiritual understanding has with personal conversion and the life of the Christian'. Here, de Lubac is overtly criticizing 'a modern' concept of typology (*Medieval Exegesis*, pp. 259–60). See also Henri de Lubac, "Typologie" et "Allégorisme", *Recherches de science religieuse*, 34 (1947), 180–226, particularly pp. 192–96 and n. 55, and pp. 225–26 (on Gregory, emphasizing the moral application of allegorical reading). Also important for my understanding of typology is Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 11–76, especially the discussion of Augustine's three stages (p. 41: 'the Law or history of the Jews, as a prophetic figura for the appearance of Christ; the incarnation as fulfillment of this figura and at the same time as a new promise of the end of the world and the Last Judgment; and finally, the future occurrence of these events as ultimate fulfillment') and of figural interpretation as distinct from allegory (pp. 53–63).

²⁸ This is the focus of Raby's reading of Sedulius, as in note 6 above.

²⁹ See the discussion in G. R. Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 87–122.

³⁰ *Sermo LXXI ('In dedicatione ecclesiae III')* (PL, 144, col. 907C) (Having dissolved the clouds of allegory, we can draw also from this stream of Scripture to irrigate our behavior), cited in de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, p. 98 and n. 31, where it is described as 'a text with a Gregorian flavor to

unity of the Scriptures, which joined the just under the Law who had faith in a revelation to come and the Christian people's hope for the Parousia. This is the 'eschatological desire' that Leclercq identifies with the monk's yearning for God and is linked by him to monastic exegesis and the underlying concept of the unity of Scripture.³¹ This is the programme that underlies the Augustinian allusion of the poem's opening couplet and is more fully developed in the rest. The poem in my estimation ought to be read within the context of monastic, spiritual exegesis, as an instrument of meditative study and of the application of the same tools required in monastic *lectio divina*, whose primary objective was to uncover the hidden, spiritual meaning of Scripture and its relevance to the individual soul.

Lectio divina, the ruminative, engaged reading of the Bible by the monk primarily during the Opus Dei but also in solitude, was a principal characteristic of monastic life.³² Benedict had legislated that a monk must 'legere sibi' (read to himself) for two or three hours every day, in the morning or before dinner, according to the season.³³ While Benedict's instruction adhered to the ancient monastic way of reading the Scriptures by personal application,³⁴ his Rule added to the earlier monastic practice the injunction that 'et expositiones earum, quae a nominatis et orthodoxis catholicis Patribus factae sunt' (also their expositions, which have been composed by well-known and orthodox catholic Fathers) also ought to be read during the Opus Dei, and specifically during the night vigils.³⁵ Hence, the monk's

it'. Its authorship by Peter Damian (1007–72), however, is doubted (K. M. Woody, 'Peter Damian', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Strayer, IX, 509).

³¹ Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, passim, including '[t]he grandeur of this exegesis lies in the fact that it sheds full light on the unity of Scripture, in its being a religious, mystical exegesis' (p. 83).

³² For a survey of the development of *lectio divina*, which also considers the scholarly debate on the role of reading and studying in the Rule of Benedict, see Jacques Russe, 'Lectio divina et lecture spirituelle', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, ed. by Viller and others, IX, cols 470–87.

³³ Russe, 'Lectio divina et lecture spirituelle', IX, cols 479–80; Rule of Benedict 48 is the chapter in which private reading of the Scriptures is primarily discussed. Benedict's phrases 'lectioni vacent' (48. 4) and 'legere sibi' (48. 5) — in the dormitory so as not to disturb others who may be sleeping — are interpreted as private, prayerful reading of the Scriptures by modern commentators. *Lectio divina*, when translated as 'prayerful reading', stresses the traditional understanding of this term 'as meditative, reflective reading of the Bible, the Fathers of the Church or some other spiritual writing': *RB 1980*, ed. by Fry, p. 248, note to 48. 1.

³⁴ And in contrast, therefore, to liturgical reading: Russe, 'Lectio divina et lecture spirituelle', IX, col. 470.

³⁵ *Rule of Benedict*, 9. 8: 'Codices autem legantur in vigiliis divinae auctoritatis, tam veteris quam novi, set et expositiones earum, quae a nominatis et orthodoxis catholicis patribus factae sunt'

engagement with Scripture and its exegesis occurred not only in private study, but also in the communal liturgy. In the fully developed liturgy of medieval cenobitic monasticism, *lectio divina* was the alternation of scriptural reading and its meditation in psalm singing or in the homily, whether preached by the celebrant during Mass or read from patristic writings during the office. Indeed, the reading of the Scriptures and of their patristic exposition by the monks in a community occurred in the most regular and sustained fashion during the office of Matins, also known as vigils or night office, which was performed between midnight and dawn every day.³⁶ Its length and complexity varied according to the liturgical rank of the day, the season, and local custom.³⁷ In the longer form, monastic Matins included three parts, called nocturns, each consisting of a set of four readings or lections, recited by a reader who was blessed by the abbot before he began and whose reading was acknowledged by the entire community through the recitation of short prayers, called responsories. Generally, the first set of lessons was scriptural, the second patristic, and the third a homily on the day's Gospel, part of which was itself recited before the homily.³⁸ Specialized books, in which the lections for Matins could be conveniently collected, were created: liturgical homiliaries (for patristic readings, and comprising mostly 'homeliae', a term technically restricted to discussions of

(Let the books of divine authorship, both of the New and the Old Testament, be read during the vigils, and also their expositions, which have been written by the abovementioned and orthodox Catholic Fathers). See also Aimé Georges Martimort, *Les Lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 78–83, which also includes a discussion of the origin of this innovation within the Roman Church. The subject matter of *lectio divina* was originally only the sacred page, but other material including martyrs' passions and even historians came to be included. It was this imperative that led to the creation of monastic libraries and scriptoria, and little by little 'lectio became synonymous with studium' (Russe, 'Lectio divina et lecture spirituelle', IX, col. 480).

³⁶ At other times in the office, only a short scriptural extract, recalling the biblical text, was read. The readings of Matins, as much else in the monastic office, were clearly legislated in Benedict's *Rule*.

³⁷ For the night office, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 90–97; J. D. Crichton, 'The Office in the West: The Early Middle Ages', in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 420–29; Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au moyen âge: histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IX^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), *passim*, but especially pp. 37–38, 109–10, 116–18.

³⁸ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 81. Martimort, *Les Lectures*, pp. 78–80, stresses that on days of only three readings (whether ferial or because of the short nights) Benedict required that only biblical readings be performed, in contrast to Salmon, *L'Office divin*, p. 141, who includes a patristic reading among the three.

the Gospel), legendaries and passionaries (for hagiographic readings),³⁹ and office lectionaries (encompassing all the necessary readings). These books, surviving from many medieval monastic churches, including Echternach, show how patristic material, infused with the spiritual exposition of the Scriptures, and incorporated into the liturgical celebration of Matins, was a central part of the daily round of prayer.⁴⁰

The role of patristic exegesis in monastic biblical reading cannot be overemphasized. Except for the Psalms, whose prayerful recitation required no scholarly support, the monastic encounter with the Scriptures was regularly filtered through biblical scholarship. The influence of the *Glossa Ordinaria* in scholastic biblical reading is apparent in the striking format of the medieval glossed Bibles, which first appear in the early twelfth century. We are less familiar with what might be considered the earlier medieval visual equivalents — the patristic biblical commentary, in which the biblical text is closely integrated with its patristic exposition. Patristic and early medieval biblical commentaries quote the biblical verses under discussion frequently and extensively. The words of the sacred text, frequently in the *Vetus Latina* version as cited by the pre-Vulgate Fathers, are inserted as lemmata by the commentator and further integrated into the commentator's own words, so that it is not always clear where the text ends and the commentary begins.⁴¹ The contrasting model that would juxtapose the scholar, who studied the Bible with the gloss and regarded the biblical text as rigidly separated from its commentary, to the monk, who studied the Scriptures with the aid of a patristic commentary and who had both texts on the same page before his eyes, is stark and overgeneralized. Yet, it does convey the valid point that the fundamental approach to the biblical text in the monastery was almost always mediated by the received wisdom of canonical, monastic exegesis.

Like *lectio divina*, biblical poetry also joins the biblical text to its hermeneutical tradition, but within the older standards of Latin poetry. Augustine famously explained that Ambrose composed his hymns to support orthodox belief.⁴² The

³⁹ Matins might also include hagiographic readings in the second set to suit the feast day. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 81–82, 90–93.

⁴⁰ If the readings were too long for the Divine Office, they could be continued during monastic *collatio* or in the refectory.

⁴¹ Often, the biblical text was written in red ink for guidance as well as textual distinction. See Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon Press, 2001), pp. 103–12, which include illustrations.

⁴² *Confessions*, IX. vii. 15. See also Ambrose's own statement in his *Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis*, 34. 422–28 (*PL*, 16, cols 1017C–1018A).

movement of biblical exegesis into the prolific tradition of the new genre of biblical Latin epic invented in late antiquity is widely recognized, even if not fully explored.⁴³ Bede is but one example of the medieval scholar whose exegesis, while principally relegated to the traditional commentary format, found expression also in biblical poetry.⁴⁴ Alcuin included the biblical poetry of Juvencus among patristic authorities in his letter to Charlemagne spelling out the programme of his biblical commentary against the views of Felix.⁴⁵ The medieval view that biblical poetry belonged to the same scholarly category as biblical exegesis is sometimes revealed by the manuscript context in which biblical poems are transmitted, copied alongside biblical commentaries in the same codex. Such evidence has suggested, for example, that biblical epics were seen as contributing to the arsenal of Carolingian biblical study.⁴⁶

Typological poetry is hermeneutic by its very nature, even more so than biblical epic. Yet, scholarly discussion has emphasized its visual qualities rather than its exegetical ones. Sedulius's *Hymnus* 1 and the popularity of literary typology in the fourth and fifth centuries have been specifically connected to early visual examples of biblical typology.⁴⁷ Much typological poetry has been linked, sometimes with little evidence, to mural paintings, whose images are presumed to illuminate otherwise scarcely intelligible verses.⁴⁸ Prudentius's *Dittocheon*, a set of quatrains that describe key episodes from the Old and New Testaments typologically related, was composed originally to stand as inscriptions over actual pictures, it has been

⁴³ Ralph J. Hexter, 'The Metamorphosis of Sodom: The Ps-Cyprian "De Sodoma" as an Ovidian Episode', *Traditio*, 44 (1988), 1–35 (pp. 29–30, and n. 104). To be added to Hexter's bibliography are now the works of Francesco Stella, together with Michael Roberts's perceptive review of Stella's *Poesia e teologia* in *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 605–07; and Roger P. H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), which does not discuss Sedulius's *Hymnus* 1, but only the *Carmen paschale*.

⁴⁴ See, for an example, note 7 above.

⁴⁵ Alcuin, *Epistola*, 203, ed. by E. Dümmeler, MGH, EEIV, 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895; repr. 1978), p. 337. See also Hexter, 'Metamorphosis of Sodom', pp. 29–30 and n. 104.

⁴⁶ Hexter makes this point in his discussion of the manuscript transmission of the *De Sodoma* ('Metamorphosis of Sodom', pp. 19–20 and n. 104). In two Laon manuscripts from the ninth century, which include this poem as well as several similar biblical epics (Proba, Avitus, Dracontius) and several exegetical works, the organizing principle is the first eight books of the Old Testament — both poems and commentaries can be seen as resources for the study of these biblical books.

⁴⁷ See above, note 6.

⁴⁸ For a brief survey, see de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, pp. 249–51.

argued.⁴⁹ Mary Carruthers has pointed out that, regardless of its original intention, the *Dittocheon* 'present[s] Bible stories in language that is highly visualizable as a series of epitomized tableaux'.⁵⁰ The *Dittocheon* was a common elementary reader in the Middle Ages⁵¹ and was used as a tool of 'monastic rhetoric', as a way to lead monks to meditation by making mental images. The *Dittocheon*, in Carruthers's view, was useful within the context of monastic art, whose purpose was not mimetic representation but memory-gathering, thinking about, meditating upon.⁵² Carruthers's observations could be applied to 'O sacrata dies'. It too, as its two earlier models, the poems of Sedulius and Hrabanus Maurus, creates 'a series of epitomized tableaux' — Isaac on the altar, Jesus on the Cross; Samson pulling out the gates of Gaza, Christ destroying the gates of hell. Its use of direct speech (couplets 3, 4) and of descriptive and topographical words (*ab imo*, *hic*, *montis*, *alta*) reinforces the visual quality that has long been attached to typology. But I would like to emphasize that it is these poems' joining of biblical text and hermeneutical tradition, crucial to typology, that leads their readers and listeners to meditative rumination of the Scriptures. It is from the patristic commentaries on the biblical text that monks took the materials to create the images and ideas of their meditation. The power of the tradition of exegesis to shape and give meaning to typological poetry is evident already in Prudentius's *Dittocheon*. The raven that does not return to Noah's Ark is pictured in the poem as feeding on the floating

⁴⁹ But it is worth noting that Gennadius begins his discussion of Prudentius with the composition of the *Dittocheon* without reference to pictures: 'Prudentius uir saeculari litteratura eruditus, composuit Tropaeum de toto Veteri et Novo Testamento personis excerptis' (*Liber de uiris illustribus*, ed. by Ernest C. Richardson, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 14 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1896), pp. 57–97 (p. 66)) (Prudentius, a layman learned in secular literature, composed a Tropaeum [there is disagreement over this word and its meaning] of the entire Old and New Testament through selected characters).

⁵⁰ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 133–39.

⁵¹ It does not appear that Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 9968–72, a manuscript of Prudentius's poems, came from Echternach, as Fabian Lochner suggests ('Un manuscript de théorie musicale provenant d'Echternach (début du XI^e siècle): Luxembourg, B. N. I.21', *Scriptorium*, 41 (1987), 256–61 (p. 258, n. 6)). While some of the hands are associated with the Echternach script from around 900, by the middle of the tenth century the codex was at St Maximin in Trier. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 466–68.

⁵² Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 2–3.

corpses, an image that is not in the biblical narrative but derives from Augustine's interpretation of the biblical story.⁵³

An Exegetical Analogue

I would like to offer a reading of several couplets of 'O sacrata dies' informed by patristic exegesis to illustrate my interpretation of the poem. I will make use of an exegetical analogue, a magnificent volume copied at Echternach around 1070 and therefore roughly contemporary to our poem, as a guide that condenses and organizes a vast and pathless amount of materials. While it cannot be considered a source of 'O sacrata dies', the volume, and particularly the patristic readings, can serve as an object different yet similar to the poem — an analogue. For the texts that this volume contains, read at Echternach during the celebration of the liturgy, expose and recall the exegetical culture of the monastic community within which the poem was written, read, and glossed.⁵⁴ In addition, this book, even more than similar collections of patristic homilies, embodies the nexus between the Scriptures and the tradition of biblical interpretation that was part of the monastic *Opus Dei* at Echternach for it encompasses within its two covers both a Bible and an Office Lectionary.

MS 264 of Luxembourg's Bibliothèque nationale is a large (600 x 400 mm; the written surface is 480 x 300 mm) decorated book, containing more than four hundred folios (Figure 18).⁵⁵ This manuscript, generally described as Regimbert's Giant Pandect, is made up of two parts. The first part (fols 1^v–336^v) contains a Bible, which has been widely commented on. Regimbert's Pandect represents the new style of Bible production, replacing the earlier fashion of separate volumes for individual books or group of books.⁵⁶ While the pandect format had never

⁵³ Augustine makes this point in several places, including, for example, at the beginning of chapter 20 in *Contra Faustum*, 12.

⁵⁴ My approach of using one object as an analogue to understand another is informed by Jessica Brantley, 'The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter and the Old English Descent into Hell', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), 43–63.

⁵⁵ See above, Chapter 2, note 58, and Leclercq, 'Un nouveau manuscrit d'Echternach', for the return of this book to Luxembourg; for a complete discussion, see now Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, II, 326–75.

⁵⁶ Margaret Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), pp. 8–9.



Figure 18. Regimbert's Pandect. Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, MS 264, fol. 2^r. Reproduced with permission.

completely gone out of style, its greatest popularity was confined to the last quarter of the eleventh century and the early part of the twelfth, and it has been viewed as an expression of the monastic reform movement.⁵⁷ The format's popularity in Lotharingia has been linked to its reform movement, spearheaded by Gorze.⁵⁸ Every monastery had one giant Bible, even though few had the resources to produce it themselves.⁵⁹ Regimbert's Pandect is an early Lotharingian representative of this new format.⁶⁰ The Bible was destined for liturgical use, as is made clear by the division into readings of numerous passages.⁶¹ The latter part of the codex (fols 337^r–407^v) is an Office Lectionary for the entire year, and it includes all the patristic and hagiographic lections that were read during the celebration of the monastic office of Matins.⁶² Both Bible and Office Lectionary, it is important to note,

⁵⁷ Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 102–04. But Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West*, p. 9, stresses that this argument does not explain fully why the fashion of the display Bible swept all over Europe, replacing the earlier fashion for display Gospel books. She argues for a consideration of the social context of this new format.

⁵⁸ Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 8–9. A giant Bible was written for the abbey of Saint-Hubert-des-Ardenne, also in Luxembourg, before the end of the eleventh century, and another for St Maximin of Trier, at about the same time (de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 70–71).

⁵⁹ As Gibson points out, the size of these Bibles required sufficient resources to maintain 'stability of script and initials over 500 pages' (*The Bible in the Latin West*, p. 9). She compares their size to the Codex Amiatinus and contrasts it to the much smaller Carolingian Gospel books.

⁶⁰ The style of the decorated initials suggests that Regimbert's Pandect was produced between 1051 and 1081 (Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, II, 326).

⁶¹ Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, II, 338–39, for a list of readings. The Bible was destined for liturgical use from the first, although the divisions into readings go back to the twelfth century. Most of these texts were divided into eight readings for two nocturns. Hence, the Echternach Pandect is evidence for those who argue that these giant Bibles were destined for the liturgy.

⁶² The Lectionary is divided into the 'Temporale' (materials for the liturgical celebrations of the life of Christ, beginning with the 'Pars hiemalis', from Christmas through Holy Saturday, followed by the 'Pars aestivalis' from Easter to Advent) and the 'Sanctorale' (materials related to the celebration of the feasts of the saints, including readings both for the 'Proprium sanctorum' and the 'Commune sanctorum'). This Office Lectionary therefore combines what would have previously been two books: the 'Liturgical Homiliary' (a collection of patristic homilies to be read at the office) and the 'Passionary' or 'Legendary' that contained the hagiographic texts according to the calendar of the local church. Both are examples of the specialized books created for use in the celebration of the liturgy. For homiliaries in general, see Henri Barré, 'Homéliaires', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, ed. by Viller and others, VII, 598–606; Réginald Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du moyen âge: inventaire et analyse des manuscrits*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*, Series maior, Fontes, 6 (Rome: Herder, 1966); Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse des manuscrits* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1980); Pierre Salmon, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques latins*

constitute a single book, copied during the last ten years of the abbacy of Regimbert, who commissioned it, as stated in the inscription on fol. 2^r by the principal scribe Ruotpertus (see Figure 18).⁶³ The combination of Pandect-cum-Office Lectionary in one volume has gone unnoticed, yet it is extremely rare, if not unique.⁶⁴ The beauty and grandeur of this book are a mark of the continued expertise of Echternach's scriptorium in the second half of the century; its joining of Bible and office readings is a testament of the centrality of the Bible and its patristic exposition in the monastic practice of the liturgy.

The Office Lectionary was put together from a variety of sources to provide exclusively the readings required in Echternach's liturgy in the second half of the eleventh century. We have evidence that major sources of the Lectionary were in Echternach's library, or sacristy, if that is where books used in the liturgy were kept. One of these, for example, was a two-volume Homiliary copied around 1000, whose Echternach origin has only recently been uncovered.⁶⁵ Another principal source was a hagiographic Passionary-Legendary from the ninth century.⁶⁶ Texts

de la Bibliothèque vaticane, 5 vols, Studi e testi, 251, 253, 260, 267, and 270 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968–72), I, pp. vii–viii; and Henri Barré, *Les Homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre: authenticité, inventaire, tableaux comparatives, Initia*, Studi e testi, 226 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), pp. 1–4.

⁶³ 'Domnus abbas Regimbertus auctor libri huius et frater Ruotpertus scriptor in libro uitae scribantur et in memoria eterna habeantur. Si quis hunc librum sancto Willibrordo illique seruientibus abstulerit, tradatur diabolo et omnibus infernalibus penis et sit anathema. Fiat, fiat. Amen, amen' (May the Lord Abbot Regimbert who had this book made and Brother Ruotpert who wrote it be inscribed in the book of life and may they be held in eternal memory. If anyone should take this book away from St Willibrord and those serving there, may he be handed over to the devil and to all infernal pains and may he be anathema. Let it be so, let it be so. Amen, amen). Giant Bibles were frequently the gifts of a bishop, king, or emperor, an indication of their symbolic social value.

⁶⁴ I have found no other example in the standard repertories of biblical and liturgical manuscripts, including Pierre Salmon's catalogues of liturgical manuscripts in the Vatican Library (see note 62 above), nor in the works of Grégoire and Barré as cited in this section.

⁶⁵ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8919, a Homiliary that combined the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon — the standard liturgical homiliary since Carolingian times and used throughout Europe — with the homilies of Haymo of Auxerre on the Gospels and Epistles and other Carolingian material. The surviving volume covers the winter season from Christmas Eve to Holy Thursday. For a description see BnF, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins nos. 8823 à 8921* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1997), pp. 171–76; Barré, *Les Homéliaires carolingiens*, pp. 59–60. Echternach's ownership mark on fol. 1, which had been scraped off, can be read with ultraviolet light.

⁶⁶ Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, MS 97. See Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, II, 224–31, 339; Nicolas van Werveke, *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits de*

were not copied in their entirety, but only those passages (generally the opening sections) that make up the actual numbered lections were included.⁶⁷ The Office Lectionary, therefore, is a unique and idiosyncratic collection, compiled for the actual performance of the monastic office at Echternach.⁶⁸ More precisely, Regimbert's magnificent book is a surviving manifestation of Echternach as a textual community, created through a common, public understanding of the biblical text.⁶⁹ The Office Lectionary is a catalogue, in a sense, of the abbey's patristic readings, and it can serve as a guide to the exegetical culture in which the poem was also constructed.⁷⁰

la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg (Luxembourg: Imprimerie Fr. Bourg-Bourger, 1894), pp. 209–17. MS 264 also contains later additions, highlighted in Falmagne's description, which reflect new emphases in Echternach's liturgy.

⁶⁷ Some of the passages are divided into I–III lections, some into I–VIII, some into I–XII. Hence, we may conclude that the Matins for ferial days would include one nocturn in which three readings from the patristic homily were read; during Matins for feast days of two or three nocturns, each would include four readings. Not only the rank of the feast, but also the season of the year affected the number of readings at Matins, which, one must remember, took place at night. During the summer months, when the nights were shorter, Matins was shorter; in the winter's longer nights, the service was consequently longer. As usual in liturgical custom, there was also a great deal of local variation. See note 61 above for the lectio markings inserted into the margins of the biblical text.

⁶⁸ The readings for the Temporale, while broadly following the model of the standard Carolingian collection, the so-called Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, have been adapted to the local use of Echternach by the exclusion of some texts, the addition of others, and some rearrangement (Leclercq, 'Un nouveau manuscrit d'Echternach', pp. 221–22). Similarly, the Sanctoreale, which includes both patristic and hagiographic texts, reflects the abbey's liturgical usage. Thus, for example, in addition to readings from Alcuin's *Vita S. Willibrordi* (fols 397^v–398^r for his feast and for his ordination; 399^v–400^r for the octave of his feast), we also find Thiofrid's *Sermo in natali Wilgilsii* (fol. 400); in the margin of fols 383^v–384^r there is added a *Sermo* for the feast of the *Divisio apostolorum*, instituted at Echternach under Regimbert. Before the advent of the Cistercians, Benedictine monasteries, including the Cluniacs, did not follow a standardized, uniform liturgy: Raymond Étaix, 'Le Lectionnaire de l'Office à Cluny', in *Homéliaires patristiques latins: recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1994), pp. 137–205 (p. 138); previously published in Raymond Étaix, 'Le Lectionnaire de l'Office à Cluny', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 11 (1976), 91–159 (p. 92).

⁶⁹ For the concept of 'textual community', see Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, especially pp. 88–92.

⁷⁰ Thus, the Lectionary can be a much better guide to the exegetical traditions of Echternach than a Homiliary whose contents might have been used in a variety of contexts, both private and public.

The Temporale's second part,⁷¹ marked with a big initial, begins with the readings for Easter Matins. It opens with the first five chapters of Gregory's twenty-first homily, on the Gospel for Easter Day, Mark 16. 1–7.⁷² In this homily, Gregory first discusses the events in Mark's narrative — the visit of the holy women to the sepulchre to anoint the body of Jesus — in a highly allegorical manner,⁷³ drawing out their moral implications. 'It is necessary to hear what has been done,' Gregory states, 'so that we may meditate those things that must be done by us through imitation.'⁷⁴ Towards the end of the sermon, Gregory turns to typology to explain why Christ did not descend from the Cross, as the Jews challenged and as was in his power to do, but instead rose from the tomb, as the angel says. These deeds, 'are well signified by Samson, in the Book of Judges'. Gregory eschews the more frequently allegorized story of Samson's death when he pulls down the house on himself and on the Philistines, but turns instead to the story told in Judges 16. 1–3, Samson's nocturnal visit to Gaza, and the allegorization of Samson and Gaza as Christ and hell that we find in couplet 11 of 'O sacrata dies'. Gregory describes how the Gazites encircled the city, how they placed guards to stand watch, and how they rejoiced, for they believed that they would capture the mighty Samson as he left the city at daylight. But Samson, instead of waiting for dawn, got up in the middle of the night, pulled up the city's gates by their posts, put them on his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the hill. Gregory then continues:

Quem, fratres carissimi, hoc in facto, quem nisi Redemptorem nostrum Samson ille significat? Quid Gaza ciuitas nisi infernum designat? Quid per Philisteos nisi Iudaeorum perfidia demonstratur? [...] Samson uero nocte media non solum exiit, sed etiam portas tulit, quia uidelicet Redemptor noster ante lucem resurgens, non solum liber de inferno exiit, sed et ipsa etiam inferni claustra destruxit. Portas tulit, et montis uerticem subiit, quia resurgendo claustra inferni abstulit, et ascendendo caelorum regna penetrauit. Hanc ergo resurrectionis ejus gloriam, fratres carissimi, quae et prius demonstrabatur ex signo, et post

⁷¹ That is, the so-called 'summer' part, which begins with Easter and continues to Advent.

⁷² Fols 354^{ra}–355^{vb}; Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXI, 1–5, ed. by Raymond Étaix, CCLS, 141 (1999), p. 173, line 1 – p. 177, line 95; the entire homily is on pp. 173–79. Gregory's Homily 21 was included in Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary*, as one of five homilies for Easter Matins. For the coordination of Gospel and homiletic readings, see Barré, *Les Homélistes carolingiens*, Table I (*sine pagina*).

⁷³ See, for example, Gregory's allegorizing of the angel's sitting on the right side in the empty tomb (to signify eternal life) and of his white cloths (to announce our future joys).

⁷⁴ Fol. 354^{ra}; 'Sic quippe necesse est ut audiamus quae facta sunt, quatenus cogitemus etiam quae nobis sunt ex eorum imitatione facienda.' Gregory, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXI, 2 (ed. by Étaix, p. 174).

patuit ex facto, tota mente diligamus, pro ejus amore moriamur [. . .]. Transmigremus ad uirtutes a uitiiis, ut Redemptorem nostrum in Galilaea uidere mereamur.⁷⁵

[Whom, dearest brethren, whom does Samson signify by this action if not our Redeemer? What does the city of Gaza signify if not hell? What is indicated by the Philistines if not the perfidy of the Jews? [. . .] For indeed, in the middle of the night, not only did Samson leave, but also took away the gates, because indeed our Redeemer, rising up before light break, not only left hell freely, but even destroyed hell's very prison. He took hold of the gates and went up to the top of the hill, because by rising up he took away the gates of Hell, and by ascending he penetrated the kingdom of the heavens. Let us love, dearest brethren, with our whole mind this glory of his Resurrection, which first was shown by sign, and then became manifest by deed, let us die for his love [. . .]. Let us migrate from vices to virtues, so that we may deserve to see our Redeemer in Galilee.]

Christ's death, his harrowing of hell, and his resurrection are explicitly demonstrated, according to Gregory, through *sign* by Samson and through the *deed* of Christ's own action ('prius demonstrabatur ex signo, et post patuit ex facto'). The lesson drawn out of this reading is summarized in the passage's closing words ('Let us migrate from vices to virtues, so that we may deserve to see our Redeemer in Galilee'). Gregory's injunction mimics the angel's command to the Apostles that they follow the resurrected Jesus to Galilee.

Gregory's representation of the complex figure of Samson, which is echoed in the poem, is unusual and goes back to Caesarius of Arles and a lost work of Augustine.⁷⁶ More popular was the interpretation of Isidore of Seville, which does not discuss these events at the beginning of Judges 16 at all, but interprets Samson as a type of Christ who slays evil by his own death. Hrabanus Maurus also included Samson in his epanaleptic *Carmen* 16. 81–82, basing his figure on Isidore's summary and emphasizing the many thousands of men whom Samson killed.⁷⁷ In this example, the Echternach Lectionary and 'O sacrata dies' inherit and hark back to

⁷⁵ Gregory, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXI, 7 (ed. by Étaix, p. 179).

⁷⁶ A survey of the figure of Samson (as an example of a sinful man in the misogynistic tradition and as a type of Christ) in the Fathers, and in other works by Gregory, is found in Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150*, 2nd edn (London: University of London Committee for Medieval Studies, 1986), pp. 123–32.

⁷⁷ Hrabanus, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, p. 180: 'Agmina plus moriens stravit hostilia Samson, / Salvator noster agmina plus moriens' (Dying Samson demolished more hostile multitudes, / our Saviour by dying [destroyed] more multitudes). Cf. Isidore's treatment in *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum. In lib. Jud. VIII* ('de Samson') (*PL*, 83, cols 389–90) and the discussion in Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, p. 131. Sedulius does not include Samson.

the same exegetical tradition, the typological reading of Samson as a figure of Christ's Resurrection and Ascension. Gregory's teaching, recalled through the homily's extract in Regimbert's codex during Matins before Easter Day, not only helps us to understand more fully the poet's figurative presentation of Samson, but also provides the reference point to which the couplet would draw into rumination the mind of those who recited or heard the poem. Just as important is the homily's didactic insistence to render the typological method transparent, marked implicitly by Gregory's rhetorical artifice⁷⁸ and explicitly by the words 'sign' and 'deed', terms borrowed from grammar and widely applied in exegesis from the time of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*.⁷⁹

An interpretation of the fourth couplet of 'O sacrata dies' vis-à-vis the Lectionary suggests a different kind of relationship between poem and exegesis. The verses are built around a rewriting of Hosea 13. 14 'Ero mors tua o mors ero morsus tuus inferne' (O death, I will be your death; O hell, I will be your bite — Douay-Rheims version), a phrase that is found also among the Easter antiphons.⁸⁰ Since the organization of the couplet requires that the first hemistich apply to a figure or antetype, the serpent of Eden, who is the cause of man's death and enslavement and whose bite is a prominent characteristic of his animal class, appears as the likely candidate. Yet, there is no clear attestation in traditional exegesis for the adaptation of Hosea's verse to fit the serpent. Rather, the phrase is found applied to Christ, who went down to hell to free humankind, building on the application of the larger Hosea passage to the final resurrection in I Corinthians 15. 42–58.⁸¹ Jerome's commentary on Hosea's verse, for example, stated that Christ had spoken through the prophet Hosea and that these words had signified that the Lord has freed and redeemed all in the Passion of the Cross and in the effusion of his blood. Hence he had said, 'I will be your bite, o hell, who devoured all with your maws'.⁸² Indeed, it

⁷⁸ Note Gregory's use of rhetorical questions, anaphora, parallelisms, etc., in the passage above.

⁷⁹ Jean Pépin, *La Tradition de l'allégorie de Philon d'Alexandrie à Dante* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), pp. 239–47.

⁸⁰ As in Lauds for Holy Saturday; see *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, ed. by René-Jean Hesbert and René Prevost, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Series maior, Fontes 11 (Rome: Herder, 1963–79), I, 176–77; II, 318–19.

⁸¹ And specifically in I Corinthians 15. 55: 'Ubi est mors victoria tua ubi est mors stimulus tuus' (O death, where is your victory? O death, where is your sting?).

⁸² Jerome, *Commentariorum in Osee prophetam libri III*, II. 14. 15 (ed. by Marcus Adriaen, CCSL, 76 (1969), p. 148): 'Liberavit autem omnes Dominus, et redemit in passione crucis et effusione sanguinis sui quando anima eius descendit in infernum, et caro eius non uidit corruptionem

is in Christ's mouth that the final hemistich places the analeptic phrase, preceded, however, by the puzzling words 'Partiar inque duo mors tua morsus ero'. This phrase, I suggest, recalls the particular interpretation given to Hosea's verse in Gregory's *Homelia* 22 on John 20. 1–9, the Gospel for the Saturday after Easter, the beginning of which is extracted into our Lectionary.⁸³

After his discussion of the Gospel passage in which Peter and John find Jesus's tomb empty, Gregory turns to discuss the feast of Easter, the 'solemnitas solemnitate'. One of the consequences of the events celebrated on that day is that the chosen who were held in hell's prison are returned to heaven's fields. Christ, Gregory emphasizes, does not liberate all from hell. Rather, he divides them into two, and he pulls out of the abyss those whom he chooses and leaves there those who have not been faithful and who are consigned to hell because of their crimes. That is why Christ, speaking with the mouth of Hosea, says 'I shall be your death, o death; I shall be your bite, o hell'. When we kill something, we commit an action by which that thing no longer exists; when we bite something, we take away a part, and we leave the other part behind. Hence, because Christ killed death for his chosen ones, he was the 'death of death'. But because he takes some from hell and some he leaves in hell, he did not kill hell completely, but he bit it:

Quod ante passionem dixit, in resurrectione sua Dominus implevit: Si exaltatus fuero, inquit, a terra, omnia traham ad me (John 12. 32). Omnia etenim traxit, qui de electis suis apud inferos nullum reliquit. Omnia abstulit, utique electa. Neque etenim infideles quosque, et pro suis criminibus aeternis suppliciis deditos, ad veniam.⁸⁴

[What the Lord said before his passion, he fulfilled in his resurrection: When I am lifted up from the earth, he said, I will draw all things to myself. He drew all things to himself, the one who left not one of his chosen ones in the nether regions. He took away all things, as

et ad ipsam mortem atque infernum locutus est: *Ero mors tua, o mors*. Idcirco enim mortuus sum, ut tu mea morte moriaris. *Ero morsus tuus, inferne*, qui omnes tuis faucibus deuorabas' (For the Lord freed and redeemed all in the passion of his cross and in the effusion of his blood when his soul descended into hell, and his flesh did not see corruption and he spoke to death itself and to hell: *O death, I will be your death*. For this reason I died, so that you would die by my death. *I will be your bite, O hell*, who devoured all with your maws).

⁸³ Fols 356^{rb-vr}; Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXII, 1–2 (ed. by Étaix, p. 181, line 1 – p. 182, line 39).

⁸⁴ Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXII, 6 (ed. by Étaix, p. 185). Gregory repeats this interpretation in *Moralia in Iob*, XII. II. 9–22 (ed. by Marcus Adriaen, CCSL, 143A (1979), pp. 637–38). But he does not relate 'mors' and 'morsus' etymologically, as is done, e.g., in Hrabanus's *De universo libri viginti duo*, VI (PL, 111, col. 170C).

he had chosen. But the unfaithful ones, and those committed to eternal torments because of their crimes [he did not draw] unto forgiveness.]

The puzzling words of the pentameter, 'Partiar inque duo', are an attempt to reproduce Gregory's point, stressing Christ's division between those whom he takes with him and those whom he leaves behind in hell. Gregory's twenty-second homily is not found in any standard liturgical homiliary. It reflects, therefore, a particularity of Echternach's liturgical tradition, and its commonality with the poem is particularly noteworthy.⁸⁵

Patristic exegesis, including Gregory's *Homilia* 22, also helps to explain how the poet may have been led to assign Hosea 13. 14 to the serpent in constructing his epanaleptic correspondence. Gregory's passage above links Christ's words in Hosea 13. 14 to John 12. 32, where Jesus says, 'et ego si *exaltatus fuero* a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum'.⁸⁶ Jesus's words in this Johannine passage echo similar statements that are found elsewhere in John's Gospel, including 3. 14–15,⁸⁷ where Jesus explicitly compares himself to the fiery serpent that Moses raises on a stick to heal the Israelites who had been bitten by poisonous snakes in the desert (Numbers 21. 6–9). Bede's *Homelia* 18 on John 3. 1–16 for the Octave of Pentecost, extracted into Echternach's Homiliary, discusses Jesus's comparison of himself to Moses's snake.⁸⁸ Bede's source is Augustine's *Tractatus XII* on the Gospel of John.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ This homily is not included in any of the liturgical homeliaries studied by Grégoire. Cf. alphabetical index, Barré, *Les Homéliaires carolingiens*, p. 499. It therefore reflects a variation in Echternach's liturgical practice. It is possible that the Lectionary's source was the Homiliary preserved as BnF, MS lat. 8919 (the second volume, where this homily would have been found, is missing) or a copy of Gregory's Gospel homilies, such as BnF, MS lat. 9560, from the end of the tenth century (Ferrari, *Sancti Willibrordi*, pp. 26–27 and illustration 14).

⁸⁶ It is in fact to lend support to his understanding of omnia ('Omnia etenim traxit, qui de electis suis apud inferos nullum reliquit') that Gregory adds his interpretation of the Hosea passage.

⁸⁷ 'Et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis / ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam' (And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life).

⁸⁸ Fols 361^{vb}–362^{ra}; Bede, *Homiliarum Euangelii libri II*, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 122 (1955), pp. 311–17. The extracts are found in CCSL, 122, p. 311, line 1 – p. 312, line 46.

⁸⁹ Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium tractatus*, XII (on John 3. 6–21), ed. by Willems, pp. 120–29. This text is not included in the Lectionary, but Augustine's entire treatise on John's Gospel has survived from the abbey's library (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8912); see *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, dir. by Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, 8 vols (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1959–85), III, 97 and table XX.

Here, Augustine sees the fiery serpent that Moses, in accordance with God's command, exalts on a pole for the Israelites bitten by poisonous snakes to look at and be healed, as a figure of the death of God on the cross that brings life to sinful humanity.⁹⁰ Augustine creates an equation to explain the figure. On one side are the serpent in the Garden who tempted and brought death to humanity and the poisonous serpents who bit the Israelites in the desert; on the other side are Christ exalted on the Cross who brings salvation to humankind and the exalted snake of Moses which brought health to the Israelites. While Bede simplifies to a certain extent Augustine's complex treatment and brilliant rhetorical artifices, he also transmits Augustine's principal points more explicitly and succinctly, as for example, in his clear definition of the snake in Eden.⁹¹ Bede, following Augustine's definition of sacrament, emphasizes that Jesus's words in the Gospel of John teach 'quod *in figura* factum est apud antiquos' (that which was done as a figure amongst the ancients), a sacrament, a sign by which his Passion and human salvation are signified.⁹²

The patristic materials we have just surveyed provide us with a possible view of how the poet might have constructed couplet 4 by bringing together the hermeneutical traditions of two biblical verses. He might have begun from Gregory's treatment of the Hosea verse in his *Homelia* 22, and moved from its use of John 12. 32 to the similarly phrased John 13. 14–15, and to Augustine's and Bede's

⁹⁰ Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium tractatus*, XII, 11 (ed. by Willems, p. 127): 'Quis est serpens exaltatus? Mors Domini in cruce. Quia enim a serpente mors, per serpentis effigiem figurata est. Morsus serpentis lethalis, mors Domini uitalis. Attenditur serpens, ut nihil ualeat serpens. Quid est hoc? Attenditur mors, ut nihil ualeat mors. Sed cuius mors? Mors uitae; si dici potest: Mors uitae; immo quia dici potest, mirabiliter dicitur [...] Quomodo qui intuebantur illum serpentem, non peribant morsibus serpentum; sic qui intuentur fide mortem Christi, sanantur a morsibus peccatorum' (Who is the raised up serpent? The death of the Lord on the cross. For since death came from the serpent, it [i.e. death] is figured by the image of a serpent. The bite of the serpent is lethal, the death of the Lord is vital. The serpent is looked at, so that it may not have any power. What is this? Death is looked at, so that it may not have any power. But whose death? The death of life; if it can be said: the death of life; indeed because it can be said, it is said wondrously [...]. In the same way in which those who stared at that snake did not perish by the bite of the snakes, so also those who gaze at the death of Christ with faith are healed from the bites of sins).

⁹¹ Compare the passage from Augustine in the note above to Bede's 'per serpentem peccata [...] exprimuntur [...] quia per serpentem primi parentes nostri ad peccandum persuasi' (*Homelia*, II, 18, ed. by Hurst, p. 316) (sins are signified by the snake [...] because our first parents were persuaded to sin by the snake).

⁹² Augustine, *In Iohannis Euangelium tractatus*, XII, 11 (ed. by Willems, p. 126); Bede, *Homelia*, II, 18 (ed. by Hurst, p. 315).

homilies on that passage. And he appropriately linked 'morsus' with the snake, so that the epanaleptic words from Hosea 13. 7, 'I shall be your death, I shall be your bite', are spoken by the serpent and by Christ in perfect symmetry, as the poem's meter requires.

The Echternach Lectionary also includes an extract from Gregory's *Homilia* 29 on Mark 16. 14–20, the Gospel for Ascension Day, which can similarly be used for a fuller understanding of the exegetical background that underlies couplets 10 and 13.⁹³ Both couplets juxtapose typological figures of the ascended Christ (Enoch most likely in couplet 10, Elijah in couplet 13) with Christ who will descend from heaven to judge all at the end of time. These couplets, unlike most others, make a double typological leap, from Enoch and Elijah to the ascended Christ, and from the ascended Christ to Christ the Judge.

Enoch, translated bodily into heaven, and Elijah, carried up in a fiery chariot, were regularly pictured as antetypes of the ascended Christ, for they were lifted into heaven while still alive. In addressing the nature of Christ's Ascension in his homily, Gregory turns to consider both Old Testament figures. They are both 'praenuntios' and 'testes' — forerunners and witnesses — of his Ascension, one before the Law (Enoch), the other under the Law (Elijah), so that Christ 'would be able to truthfully penetrate the heavens whenever he might come'. The translation of Enoch and the conveyance of Elijah occurred, according to Gregory, so that he might come who would penetrate the ethereal sky neither through translation nor through conveyance, but through his own power. Applying a moral reading to the conduct of his flock, Gregory creates a further hierarchical division by pointing out the difference between the two figures. Enoch, who lived before the Law, had wife and children; Elijah, who lived during the Law, had neither. Thus, Gregory encourages his listeners to consider how 'the purity of sanctity grew through increments', with words that would have been particularly suited to a monastic audience: 'Translatus namque est Enoch et per coitum genitus, et per coitum generans. Raptus est Elias per coitum genitus, sed non iam per coitum generans. Assumptus uero est Dominus neque per coitum generans, neque per coitum generatus.'⁹⁴ Gregory's discussion of Enoch and Elijah is didactic not only in its

⁹³ Fols 359^{ra-rb}; Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXIX, 1–2 (ed. by Étaix, p. 244, line 1 – p. 246, line 46; the entire homily is on pp. 244–54).

⁹⁴ Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXIX, 6 (ed. by Étaix, pp. 250–51) (Enoch was translated [bodily], was conceived by sexual intercourse, and he begat by sexual intercourse. Elijah, conceived by sexual intercourse, was carried up, but he did not beget by sexual intercourse. The Lord was assumed up, who did not beget by sexual intercourse, nor was he conceived by sexual intercourse).

moral interpretation of the typological reading of the biblical passages, but also in its explicit application of his typological methodology, which stresses the categories of type and fulfilment, and of the instrumentality of one for the other, just as he has done in his allegorical reading of Samson and Gaza. Here again, as in the other homilies we have considered, we find the overt enunciation of the significance of typology, not only for the past, but also for the present and future.

Gregory's homily is also useful in understanding the second typological leap that both couplets demand, from the ascended Christ to Christ the judge. The Last Judgement is signified in the pentameter of couplet 10, which echoes Revelation 1. 17–18. The reader or listener would be reminded of the verse's fateful last words: 'ego sum primus et novissimus / et vivus et fui mortuus et ecce sum vivens in saecula saeculorum et *habeo claves mortis et inferni*' (I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades). Couplet 13 recalls the Last Judgement in two ways, explicitly ('Iudicium repetet') but also by the manner of reference to Elijah, which echoes Malachi 4. 5, announcing that Elijah will come again at the Second Coming: 'Ecce ego mittam vobis prophetam antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis' (Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes).⁹⁵ Immediately following his discussion of Enoch and Elijah, which we examined above, Gregory turns to Mark's actual words (Mark 16. 19) relating Christ's Ascension, 'assumptus est in caelis, et sedit a dextris Dei' (was taken up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God), and contrasts it with Stephen's words in Acts 7. 55, 'Video caelos apertos, et Filium hominis stantem a dextris Dei' (Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God [Acts 7. 57 in RSV]).⁹⁶ Gregory explains that to sit is the stance of one who judges; and to stand is the stance of one who fights or aids. Stephen, 'engaged in the labour of the struggle' to vanquish the faithlessness of his persecutors, saw him standing and providing aid from heaven.⁹⁷ On the other hand, Mark

⁹⁵ Augustine in *De civitate Dei*, XX, 29, had explained that Elijah would come before the judgement to convert the Jews by his preaching of the Scriptures. Although I have not found attestation, it seems possible to me that this particular interpretation of Elijah's coming may have been inspired by Mark's Gospel on Ascension Day, which connects so closely the Ascension of Christ and the following event, the preaching mission of the Apostles.

⁹⁶ Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXIX, 5–7 (ed. by Étaix, pp. 249–51). The Vulgate reads 'Intendens in caelum vidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei et ait ecce video caelos apertos'.

⁹⁷ Gregory I, *Homiliae in Euangelia*, XXIX, 7 (ed. by Étaix, p. 251): 'Quid est quod hunc Marcus sedentem, Stephanus uero stantem se uidere testatur? Sed scitis, fratres, quia sedere iudicantis

described the Son of Man after his Ascension as sitting because the Redeemer ascended into heaven, and now judges all things, and at the end will come as the judge of all. Gregory's homily explains the common medieval association of the Ascension with the Final Judgment, and helps us to better understand this tradition as it is reflected in 'O sacrata dies'.

Monastic life was oriented towards heaven and required a mental reconditioning through the reading and hearing of biblical texts and their interpretation. My discussion of 'O sacrata dies' has placed particular emphasis on the integration of theology and exegesis into its poetic narrative. It has argued that the poem's significance for the eleventh-century Echternach community can be more easily understood within the context of *lectio divina*, and informed in particular by patristic exegesis as represented in the readings for the monastic office. It is noteworthy that this poem, unlike its neighbour at the top of the page, was glossed by one of the Echternach masters who also glossed the school texts contained in the codex proper. It is now to those glosses that we need to turn, for they too help us to a fuller understanding of how these poems were written and read.

est, stare uero pugnantis uel adiuuantis. Quia igitur Redemptor noster assumptus in caelum, et nunc omnia iudicat, et ad extremum iudex omnium uenit, hunc post assumptionem Marcus sedere describit, quia post ascensionis suae gloriam iudex in fine uidebitur. Stephanus uero in laboris certamine positus stantem uidit, quem adiutorem habuit, quia ut iste in terra persecutorum infidelitatem uinceret, pro illo de caelo illius gratia pugnavit' (What does it mean when Mark testifies that he sees him sitting, while Stephen sees him standing? You should know, brothers, that sitting is for the one who judges, while standing is for the one who fights or aids. Since our Redeemer was assumed into heaven, and now judges all things, and at the end he will come as the judge of all, Mark described him as sitting after his assumption, because after the glory of his assumption he will be seen as judge at the end. Stephen instead, in the middle of toil and struggle, saw him standing, whom he had as his helper, for he fought from the heavens for his sake, in order that he, Stephen, might defeat the faithlessness of his persecutors on earth).

THE GLOSSES

BnF, MS lat. 10195 is one of a group of manuscripts copied during the late tenth and eleventh centuries testifying to the significant presence of classical and early Christian school authors at Echternach.¹ These books include Paris, BnF, MS lat. 9344, a copy of Vergil's works; MS lat. 9345, transmitting Horace, Persius, Juvenal, and Terence; MSS lat. 9346 and lat. 10314, containing Lucan; MS lat. 10317, the *Thebaid* and *Achilleis* of Statius; and Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694, a collection of early Christian poets, including Prudentius, Boethius, Sedulius, and Arator.² Commentaries accompany many of these texts, as in BnF, MS lat. 9344, where we find also Priscian's *Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium*. Glosses, both verbal and musical, were commonly added by several hands over the course of time. Scholars have debated the function of these glossed manuscripts of school or classical authors.³ The debate has centred on the

¹ See above, pp. 26, 58–61.

² It is important to repeat here Hoffmann's point that, for books from the latter part of the tenth century, it is difficult to separate what was copied at Echternach and what was brought there from Trier. He cites BnF, MS lat. 9345 as such an example and questions also whether BnF, MS lat. 10317 originated in Echternach (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 509–16; and above, Chapter 2, note 35). For my discussion here, however, the origin of the manuscripts is not as important as the fact that they were used and glossed in Echternach.

³ For an introduction to the 'classbook' debate, see Suzanne Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace: Using the Classics in the Medieval Classroom', in *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. by Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret M. Smith (Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace; London: Red Gull, 1996), pp. 103–17, esp. pp. 103–05. The debate has engaged scholars of medieval England. See A. G. Rigg and G. R. Wieland, 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (The "Cambridge Songs" Manuscript)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 113–30; and Michael Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas P. Brooks (Leicester:

tenth and eleventh centuries, a time when the production and use of these books took place principally in the monastery. Were these volumes meant for use in the monastic classroom, glossed for the most part by teachers whose oral instruction relied on the notes and reminders which had been inserted into the text? Or were these codices designed for the private, solitary study of the monk in his cell, a form, in other words, of private monastic *lectio*? While neither view can account for all the glossed books, by far the most persuasive case has been made for the view that glossing was for teaching, rather than studying, purposes. This would also seem the likely explanation for those manuscripts where musical notations were added.⁴

BnF, MS lat. 10195 can be dated to the end of the tenth century. As noted, this codex contains Macrobius's Commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, Sallust's *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, and Calcidius's Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*.⁵ As was the case for many texts in the Echternach library, this codex was systematically glossed and corrected in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The texts of Sallust (fols 43^r–76^r) in particular show 'abundant' glosses.⁶ These include 124 interlinear Old High German glosses⁷ and many Latin

Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 99–140; reprinted in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 455–98 and 516; Gernot R. Wieland, 'The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153–73. An important contribution to the debate is now Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), esp. pp. 243–45. See further below, note 56, for the argument that manuscripts of the classics with neumes were prepared and used by schoolmasters and cantors.

⁴ But see the important caveat in Sam Barrett's review of Sylvia Wälli, *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften: Edition und Interpretation der Quellen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), in *Early Music History*, 23 (2004), 285–305 (p. 299).

⁵ Of the standard school authors, only Ovid is missing. Günther Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich: Ardeo Gesellschaft, 1970), pp. 55, 95–96.

⁶ The manuscript tradition of Sallust developed late and very slowly in the Carolingian revival, and grew significantly in the eleventh century. L. D. Reynolds, 'Sallust: *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*', in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. by Reynolds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 341–49. BnF, MS lat. 10195 is included in Reynolds's stemma (but dated to the eleventh century). Only two complete manuscripts from the ninth century appear to be older than MS lat. 10195.

⁷ This includes 116 glosses and the names of the eight winds in Old High German. For these, see *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, ed. by Steinmeyer and Sievers, II, no. DCCCXXX, and III, no. MLXVII.

interlinear glosses, as well as numerous marginal additions and corrections. The Latin glosses — marginal and interlinear — are more complex than the German ones and still await a complete, detailed study. They are taken from a variety of sources, including Servius, the grammarians, Isidore, and other Christian writers, and were written by more than one hand.⁸ One of the principal glossators of this codex, whom I call the Servius-glossator (because Servius appears to be his principal source for the glosses on Sallust), also wrote, I believe, the glosses in majuscule in both the inside and outside margins of ‘O sacrata dies’.⁹ Most likely this same hand also added the interlinear glosses to our poem.¹⁰

Since the hand that wrote the glosses is different from the one that wrote the text of ‘O sacrata dies’,¹¹ we must assume that the glosses were not copied with the text. This suggests that they are original to this scribe, for if he had copied them

⁸ While Schroeder, *Bibliothek und Schule*, p. 102, has attributed most of them without discrimination to the Anonymous X, it is clear that more than one hand wrote them. Max Bonnet, ‘Die Handschriften von Montpellier H 360 (Sallustius) und Paris lat. 10195 (Macrobius, Sallustius, Calcidius)’, *Hermes*, 14 (1879), 157–59, which dates the glosses to the eleventh and even to the beginning of the twelfth century, implies that the glosses were written by more than one reader (‘vom gelehrten Eifer einiger Leser aus dem elften und vielleicht zum Theil aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert’), although the principal hand wrote the German and most of the Latin ones; Alison M. Peden, ‘Echternach as a Cultural Entrepôt in the Eleventh Century: The Case of Macrobius’, in *Willibrord, Apostel der Niederlande*, ed. by Kiesel and Schroeder, pp. 166–70, shows that several hands glossed Macrobius’s commentary in BnF, MS lat. 10195. And my own study of the manuscript confirms that several hands can be recognized among the glossators. See also above Chapter 4, note 5.

⁹ I cannot be certain that it is the same hand because the poem’s marginal glosses are all in capital letters. However, the precise identity of the glossator is not crucial to the argument I propose in what follows. See above, Chapter 4, note 5, for my definition of the hand of the Servius-glossator as one of the hands collapsed into the Anonymous X by Schroeder. This hand’s capital letters can be clearly seen in the gloss from Servius in the upper right hand margin of Plate LIII in Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*. This glossator’s hand is found throughout the manuscript, not just on the Sallustian texts, and can be seen very clearly, for example, on fol. 8^r (five lines).

¹⁰ Since the marginal glosses are only in majuscule letters and the interlinear glosses are all in minuscule, it is not possible to compare them directly, but only indirectly through the glosses on the codex proper. Glossing hands are notoriously difficult to characterize, and even more so in the poem because of the paucity of interventions. The use of the same abbreviations, however, as well as the general characteristics of the letters indicate to me that the hand of the Servius-glossator also glossed the poem interlinearly. Both hands use the same (and only) three construe marks, or abbreviations — for *id est*, *scilicet*, and *vel*. Cf. Plate LIII in Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*.

¹¹ This glossator’s hand is distinguished from the poem’s scribe particularly by his M, which has no downward-right turn and is much straighter.

from a source, his exemplar would have to have been another copy of the poem, a possibility made unlikely by the different handwriting of text and gloss.¹² The marginal glosses, though short, are a form of ‘commentary gloss’. They are concerned, in other words, with the correct interpretation and understanding of the poem, for they identify the biblical subjects described, but not named, by the verses. They are to be distinguished from the poem’s interlinear glosses, which may be more properly characterized as grammatical or linguistic glosses. Like all such glosses — whether commentary, grammatical, or linguistic — these insertions were not introduced by a casual reader but by one of Echternach’s active scholars, who had also glossed the classical texts contained in the codex proper. The absence of glossing in the first poem is significant. Only the second poem required comment or explanation, not only because its contents must have been opaque at times to the medieval scholar (just as they are today),¹³ but also because the poem was part of a tradition which included glossing. ‘Salve abba mitissime’ was, clearly, a contemporary text and would have been thus viewed by Echternach’s glossators. ‘O sacrata dies’, on the other hand, was like an ancient text, both in form and content, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The Echternach master who glossed ‘O sacrata dies’ certainly would have known that this poem was a partial replica of Sedulius’s *Hymnus* 1, copies of which circulated with the glosses by Remigius of Auxerre, the prolific Carolingian schoolmaster.¹⁴ Such is the one copied at Echternach in the last quarter of the tenth century (now Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1093/1694), a collection of early Christian poets with a corpus of commentaries and glosses.¹⁵ Some of the Remigian glosses on Sedulius’s first hymn are functionally similar to the ones added to the margin of ‘O sacrata dies’. Hence, for example, Remigius glossed Sedulius’s ‘Hostia summa Patris’ with ‘scilicet Isaac’,¹⁶ just as the Echternach glossator added ‘Isaac’ in the

¹² We would have to postulate, in other words, the existence of another copy (without glosses) or accept that the scribe of our poem chose not to copy the glosses or that the glosses were added to the model after the poem as it survives was copied and the glossator returned to copy them.

¹³ The poem was misread as a ‘hymn list’ by the monks of Solesmes. See Chapter 1, note 20 above.

¹⁴ For Remigius of Auxerre, see Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, 1.2: *L’Époque carolingienne*, trans. from the German by Henri Rochais (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 238–41.

¹⁵ The codex includes also Prudentius, Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*, Arator, Avianus, and the *Distica Catonis*. See Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, I, 95–96.

¹⁶ Sedulius 1. 17 (*Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. by Huemer, pp. 156, 357).

margin of couplet 5 of 'O sacrata dies'. Remigius glossed 'Gens' with 'scilicet Iudaeorum', while the Echternach master wrote 'id est Iudaici' over the first 'populi' of couplet 6.¹⁷ Both Remigius and the Echternach glossator give synonyms to illustrate a word's usage. Sedulius's 'tulit' is glossed with 'id est sustinuit';¹⁸ 'refregit' in couplet 11 of 'O sacrata dies' is similarly glossed with 'uel euellit'. While the marginal note in couplet 6 of 'O sacrata dies' simply reads 'Agnus', Remigius's explanation of Sedulius's image of the blood of the Passover lamb, on the other hand, is much more complex, and reminds us that the Carolingian scholar's comments on Sedulius are far lengthier and more substantial than the poem's simple glosses.¹⁹ Still, these examples show that the glosses of 'O sacrata dies' may very likely have been inspired by the tradition of Sedulius and the school commentaries by Remigius of Auxerre, one of the most popular of the Carolingian commentators on the trivium and the quadrivium. We may further speculate that, just as Macrobius, Cicero, Calcidius, and Sallust (MS lat. 10195) were glossed to assist teaching and study, so too may the glosses of 'O sacrata dies' have resulted from similar needs at Echternach. The glossing further indicates that this poem also was used for didactic purposes at Echternach. Though sparse, the glosses of 'O sacrata dies' suggest that the poem may have been seen as an addition to the scholarly corpus of classical and Christian poetry and worthy of study at Echternach in the eleventh century.

Musical Glosses

The musical glosses on both poems lead to similar conclusions. They too link our bifolium to the ancient texts copied in BnF, MS lat. 10195 and provide evidence for Echternach's learning and musical culture in the eleventh century. The glosses provide an important reminder that the relationship between music and language was a central part of monastic liturgy and culture.²⁰ Three kinds of musical

¹⁷ Sedulius 1. 20 (*Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. by Huemer, pp. 156, 357).

¹⁸ Sedulius 1. 51 (*Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. by Huemer, pp. 158, 358).

¹⁹ Sedulius 1. 26 (*Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. by Huemer, pp. 157, 357): 'De agno loquitur quem immolauerunt filii Israel in pascha, de cuius sanguine fecerunt signa in ostiis, quia angelus illa nocte transiebat per totam Aegyptum interficiens omnia primogenita Aegypti, et ubi sanguis erat, nullum malum faciebat' (Here the lamb is being discussed, whom the children of Israel sacrificed at the Passover, and with whose blood they made marks on the doors, because the angel that night would travel throughout Egypt, killing all of Egypt's first-born, but where there was the blood, he did no harm).

²⁰ Bischoff paid no attention to the musical notations of 'Salve abba mitissime'.

notations — dasia signs, letter notation, and neumes — have been added to both poems by the same hand,²¹ graphic signs that were meant to convey information both about the melody or mode of delivery (neumes) and about pitch (letter notation and dasia).²² In ‘Salve abba mitissime’, dasia signs were added over the lines of the first two stanzas. In two places (over *quo* in 1, 4 and over *hoc* in 2, 1) the letter ‘a’ replaces the dasia notation, an instance of the use of alphabetical notation instead of the dasia. Neumes were also added in the margin of the first stanza. Beginning with the third stanza, neumes replace dasia signs completely. Only the first two lines (i.e. four verses) of ‘O sacrata dies’ are noted musically. Here also the musical glossator, after adding the dasia notation, inserted alphabetical notation and neumes.²³ Both poems, then, show a similar approach in their musical notes, and we ought to assume that the same person noted them. This musicological approach might be considered unusual, one that is paralleled by the unusual quality of both poems, and especially by the form and contents of the second. In the discussion of the musical glosses that follows, and complementing the discussion of the verbal glosses above, I want to consider how the music also might be seen as part of our reading of these poems as teaching tools through both their contents and their form, as texts through which the Echternach master could illustrate theological, grammatical, and rhetorical principles.

We do not know whether any musical information was planned when the poems were written down. The fact that the poems’ scribes did not allow space for the addition of musical notations is not unusual, especially for non-liturgical poems. The neuming of passages from classical works, for example, appears as an

²¹ It is impossible to say whether this is the same hand which added the verbal glosses, of course. The musical glossator is a musician, but also someone who was interested in the theory of music. See further below.

²² An introduction to the meaning and application of these terms in the Middle Ages can be found in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 340–401. For more detailed discussions of the dasia, see *Musica enchiridiadis and Scolica enchiridiadis*, ed. by Claude V. Palisca and trans. by Raymond Erickson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Nancy Phillips, ‘The Dasia Notation and its Manuscript Tradition’, in *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences, Actes de la table ronde du C. N. R. S. à l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, 6–7 septembre 1982*, ed. by Michel Huglo (Paris: Champion; Genève: Slatkine, 1987), pp. 157–83; Barbara Hebborn, *Die Dasia-Notation*, Orpheus: Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik, 79 (Bonn: Orpheus, 1995); and Alma Colk Santosuosso, *Letter Notations in the Middle Ages* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989), which also discusses alphabetic notation. I am deeply indebted to my colleague Susan Boynton for her generous help with what follows.

²³ Lochner, ‘La Culture musicale’, I, 256–64.

afterthought, squeezed into small spaces, 'tertiary to the texts and glosses'.²⁴ The partial notation of the poems is also found in eleventh-century practice, which expected singers to extrapolate from the noted verses.²⁵ In a similar way, those scholars or musicians who notated classical texts marked only as much as they needed to ensure recall of the melodies.²⁶ Also, multiple musical glossing combining both neumes and letters is not uncommon in this period.²⁷

The use of dasia signs in the two Echternach poems, on the other hand, is extremely unusual. Dasia notation is a system of four basic signs modelled on the shape of a dasia, a grammatical accent mark (= |), which served in Greek to indicate rough aspiration or rough breathing.²⁸ It was used to express the scale of the tetracord, or Enchiriadis scale, borrowed from Byzantine music theory, which most likely corresponds to the pitches used in ninth-century chant, but which were being replaced in the eleventh century by the emerging octave-based modal theory.²⁹ It constituted one of several attempts, beginning in the ninth century, to match the repertory notated with neumes with a pitch system borrowed through Boethius from classical teaching. The dasia notation is found in the examples used as illustrations in its two ninth-century theoretical treatises, the *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Scolica enchiriadis*, where it is applied to chant. But the notation has rarely been used in practice. In addition to the Echternach poems, it has been found only in a manuscript of Boethius's *Consolatio philosophiae*, of German origin.³⁰

The use of both letter notation and dasia signs shows the notator's interest in communicating the pitch and intervallic content of the melody in a more precise manner than was possible using only the adiastematic neumes. At the same time,

²⁴ Susan Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 99–168 (p. 104); Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 23, where the contrasting example of sequences, copied in some manuscripts with their neumes in a column parallel to the text, is discussed.

²⁵ Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy', pp. 124–35, who points out also that the relationship between performance and written notation remains unclear to modern musicologists.

²⁶ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 55.

²⁷ Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy', pp. 107–08.

²⁸ The sign derives from the Greek letter eta (H) which, when cut into two, provided the signs for the two aspiration marks (| and |).

²⁹ The dasia notation is based on a fifth-based pitch organization and three augmented octaves. *Musica enchiriadis*, ed. by Palisca, trans. by Erickson, p. xxxi; Phillips, 'The Dasia Notation', p. 166.

³⁰ Michel Huglo, 'Remarques sur un manuscrit de la *Consolatio Philosophiae*', *Scriptorium*, 45 (1991), 288–94.

experimentation with the archaic dasia might suggest an attempt to reflect as accurately as possible diastematic relations by combining it with more common and contemporary musical notation practices. The notator's interest was not only to demonstrate the pitch-specific character of the dasia notation, as was the case for the author of the theoretical treatises, but also to improve on the system of notation ordinarily employed at this time.³¹ Such attention suggests that the notator was a scholar of music.

Fabian Lochner has pointed out that the most likely source of the glossator's knowledge of the arcane dasia was a copy of the theoretical treatise, the *Musica enchiriadis*. His discovery of a tenth-century music theory manuscript from Echternach (Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 21) helps to explain how the rare and ancient dasia may have come to be applied in these poems. One of the texts contained in this Echternach book is the extract from the *Musica enchiriadis* that discusses the dasia.³² This extract presents the signs of the dasia notation in complete form. The scribe who added the musical notes to our poems may have read the theoretical treatment of the archaic system in the older book and then practiced its application on the two verse compositions.³³ It is also important to consider the selection of extracts from the ninth-century treatises contained in the Echternach manuscript; the passages extracted from the *Musica* consist of the initial and elementary treatment of the structure of the tetracord system, while those excerpted from the *Scolica* continue the discussion of the same subjects and include also a discussion of 'ecclesiastical tones'. Whether the selection goes back to an Echternach scribe or to a model from which he copied remains unknown. But it is important to stress that the selection shows an intimate knowledge of the two treatises and their textual correspondence and that the purpose of the text contained in the Echternach manuscript now in Luxembourg's library was practical, to teach the basic materials for chanting.³⁴

³¹ For a discussion of the details of alphabetic notation (letter and dasia) to mark pitch, see Santosuoso, *Letter Notations*, pp. 7–52.

³² Lochner, 'Un manuscript de théorie musicale'. Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, p. 116, dates MS 21 to the second half of the eleventh century.

³³ Lochner also argues that a short addition to Luxembourg, MS 21 was written by the Anonymous X. That is very possible, given the activities of Scribe X documented by Schroeder. I disagree, however, with his view that the same hand copied both poems in BnF, MS lat. 9488. See Chapter 4, note 4 above.

³⁴ Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 65.

We can be fairly certain, then, of the source for our glossator's knowledge of the *dasia*. Nothing else, however, could be known of the person who experimented with these various systems of musical notations, nor about the circumstances in which he glossed the poems on the bifolium. The reattachment of the bifolium to BnF, MS lat. 10195 enables us to extract a few more details.

BnF, MS lat. 10195 contains two of the most important reference school texts, or encyclopaedias, of late antiquity, condensing knowledge on the liberal arts, including music: Macrobius's Commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, and Calcidius's Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*. Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, narrated at the end of the *Republic*, was provided by Macrobius in the early fifth century with an extensive commentary. It supplied in its two books much astronomical knowledge on the cosmos. It was transmitted with figures. Calcidius translated, at the end of the fifth century, paragraphs 17a to 53c of Plato's *Timaeus* and accompanied his translation with a commentary. This text has come down to us illustrated with geometric figures, zodiacal charts, and other illustrations.³⁵ Both texts include sections on the ancient theory of music and on the related qualities of harmony.³⁶ Both works, already well known in Carolingian Europe, were becoming increasingly popular in the eleventh century and would have been circulated more widely in the twelfth century.³⁷ Studies on the glosses on Macrobius's text in this Echternach manuscript reveal that the glosses were collected from a far-reaching corpus of

³⁵ Calcidius's text is edited by J. H. Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, Corpus platonicum medii aevi, Plato latinus, 4 (London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1962). For the illustrations, see, with earlier bibliography, Michel Huglo, 'L'Étude des diagrammes d'harmonique de Calcidius au moyen âge', *Revue de musicologie*, 91 (2005), 305–19. There is no general agreement on the identity of Calcidius. Some identify him as the Calcidius Grammaticus who was a correspondent of Fulgentius the Mythographer. Cicero had translated Plato's *Timaeus*, and it was Cicero's translation that was known to the Fathers, until Calcidius provided a new one which, most likely because of the accompanying commentary, displaced the Ciceronian version.

³⁶ The first four chapters of Book II of Macrobius's treatise are concerned with the harmony of the spheres; similarly, Chapters 40–55 of Calcidius's text concern 'de modulatione sive harmonia'. Both texts treat number theory, which is the basis of musical understanding. Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 47.

³⁷ BnF, MS lat. 10195 is one of thirty-one surviving manuscripts from the eleventh century to transmit Macrobius's Commentary, whose popularity peaked in the twelfth century (*Texts and Transmission*, ed. by Reynolds, pp. 222–35). But there is no surviving evidence to indicate that Echternach's medieval library also contained the other great encyclopaedia of the liberal arts, Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*.

commentary and that the glossing scholars at Echternach were in fact constructing a scholarly apparatus for the study of the ancient treatise on the *Dream of Scipio*.

The text of Macrobius in BnF, MS lat. 10195 was glossed by three different hands. Each hand copied different materials from the ancient pool of glosses transmitted through Macrobius's text, and each hand made additions (mostly word synonyms and short summaries). On occasion, even the recopied gloss is rewritten to emphasize a particular meaning or to render the gloss more independent, rather than as an illustration of the adjacent text. This manuscript therefore shows evidence of active and thorough research at the Echternach library to correct and explicate the text and to complete the received glossaries. The glossing of Macrobius's commentary on Cicero's text also suggests that classical texts were not simply copied at Echternach, but that they were read *propedeutically*.³⁸

While glossing of the texts of Macrobius and Calcidius reflects an interest in music theory at Echternach, the glosses are not related to the unique application of the *dasia* notation. One particularly eye-catching gloss on Calcidius, however, does suggest a link between the theory of the *dasia* and its application to the two poems.

In the top margin of fol. 92^r of MS lat. 10195, next to Chapters 44 and 45 of Calcidius, the main glossator (whose glossing of Boethius's *De institutione musica* provides further evidence of his strong interest in music)³⁹ drew a diagram summarizing the contents of Chapter 44, which constructs a parallel between grammatical analysis and musical analysis.⁴⁰ Calcidius states that just as the principal and most important parts of the articulated voice are the nouns and verbs, and that the parts of nouns and verbs are the syllables, and that the parts of the syllables are letters, so also the principal parts of the singing voice (*canorae uocis*) are the *systemata*, and that the *diastema*, which make up the *systemata*, derive from a certain contraction of pronunciation, and that the *ptongi* in turn are the parts of the *diastemata* (Figure 19).⁴¹

³⁸ Peden, 'Echternach as a Cultural Entrepôt', *passim*; Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 49–51. Peden suggests that there might have been more than one glossed Macrobius at Echternach.

³⁹ He glossed Boethius's *De institutione musica* in the Echternach manuscript Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10275 (Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 48–52).

⁴⁰ The gloss is entitled 'Resolutio verborum' and from it grammatical categories are derived ('In uoce: nomen, syllabe, Litere') and parallel musical categories ('In cantu: sistemata, diastemata, Ptongi'). See further, Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 51–52. For a discussion of the links between grammar and music in the Middle Ages, see Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 64–69.

⁴¹ *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus*, cap. 44 (ed. by Waszink, p. 92): 'Etenim quem ad modum articulatae uocis principales sunt et maximae partes nomina et uerba, horum autem syllabae,

These very two chapters of Calcidius, to which the diagram of the glossator calls attention, are closely echoed in the introduction of the *Musica enchiriadis*, the treatise on the dasia.⁴² Was the glossator calling attention to the parallels between the two treatises, one of which he was glossing in MS lat. 10195, the other of which was the source of the arcane notation he may have added to the two poems in the back of the book? There is only one piece of evidence for this, and that is the use by the glossator of the word 'resolucio', a word which in this context means 'decomposition', that is, 'analysis'. This is the word used in the *Musica* to correspond to Calcidius's *dissolutio*. This verbal echo is, arguably, not very significant and is certainly not conclusive. But the use of the diagram is worthy of note, precisely because the rare application of the dasia in the poem copied in this codex shows that one of the glossators of MS lat. 10195 knew the treatise. It seems at least possible then to suggest that the diagram of fol. 92' in BnF, MS lat. 10195 may be another reflection of the same glossator's knowledge of the theory of Dasian notation. The arcane musical notes added to our poems, therefore, could be seen not as an isolated, casual intrusion of exotic learning, but as part of a more general interest in musical theory and its application, especially since they are combined

syllabarum litterae, quae sunt primae uoces indiuiduae atque elementariae — ex his enim totius orationis constituitur continentia et ad postremas easdem litteras *dissolutio* peruenit orationis — ita etiam canorae uocis, quae a Graecis emmeles dicitur et est modis numerisque composita, principales quidem partes sunt haec, quae a musicis appellantur systemata. Haec autem ipsa constant ex certo tractu pronuntiationis quae dicuntur diastemata, diastematum porro ipsorum partes sunt pthongi, qui a nobis vocantur soni; hi autem soni prima sunt fundamenta cantus.'

⁴² *Musica et scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis*, cap. I, ed. by Hans Schmid, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission, 3 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften; C. H. Beck, 1981), p. 3: 'Sicut vocis articulatae elementariae atque indiuiduae partes sunt litterae, ex quibus compositae syllabae rursus componunt verba et nomina eaque perfectae orationis textum, sic canorae vocis pthongi, qui Latine dicuntur soni, origines sunt et totius musicae continentia in eorum ultimam resolutionem desinit. Ex sonorum copulatione diastemata, porro ex diastematibus concrescunt systemata; soni vero prima sunt fundamenta cantus' (Just as the elementary and individual parts of the articulated voice are the letters, from which the syllables are composed, which in turn make up verbs and nouns, and these make up the text of the perfect oration, in the same way the roots of the singing voice are the *pthongi*, which are called *soni* in Latin, and the contents of all music are exhausted in the final de-composition of these elements. From the joining of sounds are the diastemata, and from the diastemata grow the systemata; sounds indeed are the first fundaments of song). *Pthongi/soni* is translated as 'tones' and *diastemata* and *systemata* as 'intervals' and 'systems' by *Musica enchiriadis*, ed. by Palisca, trans. by Erickson, p.1.



Figure 19. The 'resolucio' gloss. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10195, fol. 92r. Reproduced with permission.

with more common and contemporary notation, letter notation and neumes.⁴³ Just as important is to note the interest of the glossator in the link of grammar and music, a point that will be discussed further below.

Musicologists have illustrated the great flourishing of musical culture at Echternach from its refounding in the late tenth century through the eleventh century, when the abbey's musicians integrated French and Germanic traditions into local custom. The liturgical creations of the abbey, and especially those connected to the cult of its founder Willibrord, are the richest manifestation of Echternach's musical culture, and they are transmitted to us generally through formally produced liturgical manuscripts.⁴⁴

In addition, Echternach had a significant tradition of non-liturgical music, songs or *versus*, some completely secular, some paraliturgical.⁴⁵ Eight poems, best known for their inclusion in the famed songbook known as the 'Cambridge Songs', were copied with musical notation at Echternach.⁴⁶ These poems, grouped into the now-famous songbook at Canterbury in the eleventh century (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35), circulated independently long before, and their presence at Echternach is not extraordinary. Unlike the Cambridge codex, however, where only a few neumes were inserted, in the Echternach books each verse is carefully noted, attesting to the great interest in music at the abbey during this period. At least five other non-liturgical or paraliturgical poems with musical notations survive in Echternach manuscripts.⁴⁷ Two of these are 'Salve abba mitissime' and

⁴³ A different, but congruent, example of the coordination of musical theory and practice is found in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8674, fol. 111^v, from north-eastern France from the end of the tenth century, where a neumed passage from Statius's *Thebaid* is flanked by two tables of musical theoretical terms (Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 48–50).

⁴⁴ The pioneering work on Echternach's musical learning is Solange Corbin, 'Le Fonds d'Echternach à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *Annuaire, École pratique des Hautes Études*, IVe section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 104 (1972), 371–79, followed by the works of Lochner cited *passim*, especially his dissertation, 'La Culture musicale'.

⁴⁵ Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 226–32, contains a list of the non-liturgical works, to which must be added now 'O sacra dies'.

⁴⁶ Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 226–29. These are nos 4, 10, 12, 14, 22, 30, 31, and 29 and 32 in *Die Cambriger Lieder (Carmina cantabrigiensia)*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 40 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926), and now *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina cantabrigiensia)*, ed. and trans. by Jan Ziolkowski, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 66, series A (New York: Garland, 1994); repr. as *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 192 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1998).

⁴⁷ They are listed in Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 229–30.

'O sacrata dies'. Of the rest, one, 'Laus tibi deorum domine', is a sequence on cosmic music described in the manuscript as 'De VII planetis et VIII musis', which presents the nine muses presiding over the celestial spheres in Christian dress. This didactic composition was added on a blank page in an older manuscript at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁴⁸ Another, 'Plectro trono resonanti', was added on the last page of a manuscript of Lucan's *De bello ciuili*.⁴⁹ These two works are known only from the Echternach witnesses. Finally, a *versus* to serve as a mnemonic aid on the structure of tetrachords and pentachords was added early in the eleventh century on a blank page of a slightly earlier manuscript of Boethius's *Institutio musica*. The subject of this short composition summarizes in a simplified form the complex discussion presented in the third book of Boethius's treatise. It survives in several manuscripts and is an example of the practices followed in beginning musical education in monasteries during this period.⁵⁰

Echternach manuscripts also provide many examples of the neuming of classical texts during the late tenth and eleventh centuries, a practice that is new to the early Middle Ages and not a continuation of an older tradition.⁵¹ BnF, MS lat. 9345, a large compendium of classical authors, includes neumes on parts of Horace's *Carmina* I. 1 and on a passage of Terence's *Eunuch*. Vergil's *Eclogue* 7 and passages from the *Aeneid* have been neumed in BnF, MS lat. 9344. Passages from Statius's *Thebaid*, Lucan's *De bello ciuili*, as well as numerous poems from the Christian poets Boethius and Prudentius were glossed with music notation at Echternach.⁵²

⁴⁸ 'Laus tibi deorum domine', Paris, BnF, MS lat. 11104, fol. 48^r. The folio has been filled very closely with additions. This manuscript contains Augustine and historical texts. On 'Laus tibi', see Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Les Muses et les sphères célestes', in *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, ed. by Charles Henderson, Jr, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1964), II, 7–20 (pp. 11–14).

⁴⁹ BnF, MS lat. 9346, fol. 121^v.

⁵⁰ BnF, MS lat. 10275, fol. 1^r, with musical notes ('Symphonia dicta'). Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 97–100. On this same page was also copied the famous Cambridge song in praise of the nightingale, 'Aurea personet lyra'.

⁵¹ A list of neumed classical texts and manuscripts from Echternach is provided in Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 230–32. An inventory of all neumed classical texts which encompasses all manuscript witnesses is found in Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 247–79. For the now-general view that classical lyrical poetry was not sung, see Barrett's review of Walli, p. 286, and Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 173–88.

⁵² See Lochner, 'La Culture musicale', I, 226–35, for a complete list of poems and of the manuscripts or fragments that have preserved them, some of them unique witnesses. Lochner's list is based on Corbin, 'Le fonds d'Echternach'. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 242 and n. 42.

Our two poems ought to be read within this substantial body of non-liturgical and paraliturgical poetry at Echternach, which was also set to music.⁵³ Recent scholarship has brought into evidence the significance of the substantial body of early medieval (ninth to twelfth century) songs not destined to be performed in the liturgy.⁵⁴ Many of the most important sources for the study of these texts are Echternach manuscripts. This poetic and musical anthology from Echternach, which encompasses classical, patristic, and newly composed medieval texts, has been transmitted less formally, frequently copied on paste-downs or flyleaves or in the margins of Echternach manuscripts, as indicated above. This practice was not peculiar to Echternach and is found in other contexts.⁵⁵ A closer look at the codices preserving what may be seen as these 'extraneous' texts has shown that they are schoolbooks, containing texts of musical theory and of classical and patristic authors, books that have been glossed, and used, by Echternach teachers certainly, and perhaps also by readers.⁵⁶ The neumed didactic composition mentioned above, 'Symphonia dicta', is found next to Boethius's musical treatise; BnF, MS lat. 9346, a manuscript of Lucan's *De bello ciuili*, contains not only several passages of the civil war poem that have been neumed, but also a medieval *versus*, 'Plectro tono resonanti'. Similarly, 'Salve abba mitissime' and 'O sacrata dies' were added to a codex that contained the reference works of Macrobius and Calcidius and other school texts used in the Middle Ages. This mode of transmission reflects both the scholarly and didactic use of these books and supports the view that monastic education at Echternach included not only the study of music in the classroom, but also its didactic use in the teaching of other subjects. What may appear to us, in both codicological and philological terms, 'marginal' transmission may in reality

⁵³ I prefer these two terms to 'secular' / 'religious', which are even more porous. Some of the Cambridge songs, for example, can be considered religious, and my discussion of 'Salve abba mitissime' has shown that my classification of this poem is different from Bischoff's. Furthermore, I believe that 'liturgical' / 'non-liturgical' are better suited to medieval categories. See Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 29–37 ('The Meaning of the Classics').

⁵⁴ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene* is the first thorough study of the neumed classics. See also Barrett's review of Wälli.

⁵⁵ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 47–50, and Corbin, 'Le Fonds d'Echternach', pp. 374–77, remarked on this practice at Echternach.

⁵⁶ Barrett, review of Wälli, p. 298, points this out in the case of Horace poems, which were rarely notated with conventional or 'school' scripts. Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 51, argues that only schoolmasters and cantors were responsible for neuming the passages from the classics, and teaching from them.

signify the 'living quality' of the manuscripts that transmit this musical repertoire, a sign of the reader's engagement with the theoretical contents that constitute the body of the book. Indeed, it is the possible uses of the poems which I have discussed above that may be the most important reasons behind the neuming of non-liturgical compositions.⁵⁷

This corpus of non-liturgical music differs from the contemporary chant repertoire through its exploitation of the opportunities which studying and teaching offered.⁵⁸ One such opportunity seems to have arisen from the nature of classical metres.⁵⁹ Several of the metres favoured in classical and early Christian poetry are found neumed in the manuscripts. Difficult or unusual classical metres, in particular, were accompanied by melodies, which has led to the conclusion that this was done to help both the mastery and the recollection of the verse forms. The *Odes* of Horace, when copied in what are clearly heavily glossed classroom manuscripts, are sometimes found with both neumes and marks to facilitate scansion.⁶⁰ BnF, MS lat. 9345 of Echternach provenance contains on fol. 2^r the first three lines of Horace's first *Ode* with neumes. In the margins of the page, glossators added information on metrics, with particular relevance to those metres favoured by Horace. This theoretical information includes a passage taken from the fourth-century grammar of Diomedes which focuses on the metres of Horace's *Odes*.⁶¹ The poems of Boethius

⁵⁷ For the parallels, and the differences, provided by liturgical hymns, see Susan Boynton, 'The Didactic Function and Context of Eleventh-Century Glossed Hymnaries', in *Der lateinische Hymnus im Mittelalter: Überlieferung, Ästhetik, Ausstrahlung*, ed. by Andreas Haug, Christoph März, and Lorenz Welker, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), pp. 301–29.

⁵⁸ Barrett's review of Wälli, pp. 285–305, and Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 109–26, contain detailed discussions of the neuming of classical poetry that provide the background to my short remarks. A broader theoretical argument on the medieval preoccupation with the relation of music and language is made in Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 435–56.

⁵⁹ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 109. Scholars are divided on the subject of the metrical reading, or scansion, of quantitative poetry in the Middle Ages. I accept Barrett's and Ziolkowski's conclusions that the link between prosody and music is one of the several reasons for the neuming of classical metres. Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, pp. 443–54, provides a detailed discussion of the trope set *Discipulis flammis* in hexameters, which shows how music, syntax, and metrical form reinforced each other.

⁶⁰ A detailed discussion of the music for Horace's 'O fons Bandusiae' illustrating the 'convergence between melody and metre' is found in Barrett's review of Wälli, pp. 289–92.

⁶¹ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 79–81 and Plate 9.

and Prudentius were copied with neumes and detailed rubrics on the metrical features.⁶² In these cases, one might conclude that the form, rather than the content, of certain passages from classical poems may have been the principal reason for the addition of musical signs. The details of the relationship between music and classical metre, however, remain murky.⁶³ The surviving neumatation seems to disprove what we might intuitively conclude, that the neuming of classical metre reflected its classical scansion, a system based on a pattern of long and short syllables and on metrical accent, called *ictus*, that is distinct from word accent. This metrical rhythm, in tension with accentual rhythm — the way words are normally read in prose — defines classical metre. Most musical glossators ignored scansion when they set notes on the words — a long syllable, for example, does not receive more neumes than a short one.⁶⁴ Still, it has been suggested, musical notation could play a role in the process of learning a verse and its metrical form, a process that involved several steps, only one of which was to learn the scansion. The first step was to read the line, syllable by syllable, following the accentual rhythm, keeping to the natural accent of every word, as was medieval practice.⁶⁵ Chanting and neuming are syllable based, and music could be useful therefore to learning and memorizing the verse. Scansion was something else altogether, and mastering it would represent a second stage in the didactic process, after the verse had been learned. As is true for the neumed passages from classical texts, so also the addition of notes to our poems may have been aids to understanding the metre. The iambic metre of ‘*Salve abba mitissime*’ was a very common metre for hymns (hence its appellation ‘Ambrosian metre’) and would have been learned by monks quite early in their monastic education. Similarly, ‘*O sacrata dies*’ could be a vehicle for learning the more difficult, and rare, epanaleptic elegiac couplet, a metrical form which reflected perfectly the message of the poem — biblical typological categories. The neuming of classical texts perhaps served a similar purpose, for the highly disproportionate neuming of laments or emotional passages in direct speech from the classics has suggested that

⁶² Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 117–18.

⁶³ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 126–37.

⁶⁴ Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, p. 454, concludes that ‘The one feature of the trope verses that has no influence whatever on the melodic structure is their metrical character’. But he also refers to more recent investigations that ‘have turned up indications of a concern for the reflection of quantitative scansion in the composition and performance of melodies in some cases’ (p. 454, n. 31).

⁶⁵ For a discussion of syllabification as reflected in the grammar books, see Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 131.

neuming was added to convey the meaning of the words and that neuming was closely related to the content of the passage.⁶⁶ The absence of elision in both poems would permit syllable-by-syllable pronunciation, the first step in learning classical metre, as discussed above.⁶⁷

Finally, the addition of musical notation to written texts is also to be understood in the context of a time when an oral performative tradition was being replaced by writing, in the eleventh century, which saw a great expansion in the musical repertoire.⁶⁸ During this period, the transmission of musical melodies, which had been passed on orally until the ninth century, was increasingly complemented by written tradition. This was done also for the hymns sung during the office, whose melodies were written down from the middle of the eleventh century.⁶⁹ Multiple musical notations similar to those found in our poems suggest experimentation and an interest to record in writing orally transmitted traditions.⁷⁰ In the case of 'Salve abba mitissime' and 'O sacrata dies', and other 'marginal' compositions, there was an additional and very important reason for adding musical notations. These poems were new compositions and did not carry an oral musical tradition. The musician who wrote down the notes may have wished therefore to record through writing their newly created musical melody.

Our two poems, reattached to the context of the codex into which they had originally been copied, can thus also be better understood as part of this scattered musical poetic anthology and of the scholarly culture of eleventh-century Echternach.

A Coda

The palaeographical details that have emerged from close examination of the bifolium and its container codex lead to some conclusions concerning the chronological sequence in which the poems were copied and glossed, conclusions that have implications for the question of authorship of 'Salve abba mitissime'. The

⁶⁶ Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, passim.

⁶⁷ Elision was avoided by many medieval authors when composing quantitative verse; Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, p. 131.

⁶⁸ Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy'; Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene*, pp. 39–40, 96–98, which discusses the simultaneous development of neumes and punctuation — both relating to oral performance.

⁶⁹ Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy', p. 104.

⁷⁰ Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy', pp. 107–08, which includes an example of the simultaneous use of both letter notation and neumes.

palaeographic evidence suggests that 'Salue abba mitissime' was written first, followed some time later by 'O sacrata dies'. The differences in script, and especially the formalization in 'O sacrata dies' of practices followed less strictly in 'Salue', indicate to me that this distance of time was not months, but a few years. At some point after that, the Servius-glossator, one of the principal glossators of Echternach, whose hand is visible throughout this codex, added glosses to the second poem as well, and someone else, perhaps the glossator of Calcidius who drew the diagram on fol. 92^r of BnF, MS lat. 10195, added the musical notes to both poems. These findings suggest that the poems were copied *before* the entire codex was glossed, certainly before the activities of the Servius-glossator. Since the codex was copied in the late tenth century, and the glossing activity has been dated largely to the eleventh century (but some glossing may have been as late as the beginning of the twelfth century), the copying of the first poem in the second half of the eleventh century, proposed by Bernhard Bischoff, is confirmed. The second poem was written after the first, clearly, but before the insertion of the musical notes and the verbal glosses. The end of the eleventh century could be considered a broad terminus ante quem, and only by dating the glossing hands could a more precise date be reached.

The copying sequence proposed above supports earlier arguments drawn from the script, which suggest that the Servius-glossator (whether one identifies him with Schreiber's Anonymous X or not) was not the scribe of 'Salue abba mitissime'. These conclusions therefore do not support Schroeder's theory that Thiofrid was the author of the poem, since, contrary to Schroeder's proposal, the glossator and the scribe are not one and the same person.⁷¹

⁷¹ See further above, pp. 165–67, for my discussion of the authorship of 'Salue abba mitissime'. I note here further supporting evidence to challenge Schroeder's contention that Thiofrid was the glossator of the works of Sallust glossed so heavily in BnF, MS lat. 10195. Thiofrid of Echternach quotes the *Catilina* at least once and the *Iugurtha* twice. All three citations, however, are found in the indirect tradition and do not prove that Thiofrid was familiar with Sallust's texts directly. These citations therefore cannot be taken as evidence in support of Schroeder's hypothesis that the glossator is Thiofrid. The citations are: 1. *Vita Liutwini*, VI (ed. by Lampen, p. 20) citing *Iugurtha* 64, 1, cited in Maximus Victorinus (see *C. Sallusti Crispi Catilina. Iugurtha. Fragmenta ampliora*, ed. by A. Kurfess (Leipzig: Teubner, 1957), p. 106, lines 10–12); 2. *Vita Willibrordi metrica*, IV, lines 223–24 (ed. by Poncelet, p. 499) citing *Iugurtha* 10, 6, cited in both Orosius and Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew* (see *C. Sallusti*, ed. by Kurfess, p. 60, lines 13–14); 3. *Vita Liutwini*, II (ed. by Lampen, p. 9) = *Catilina* 54, 6, cited in Augustine's *City of God* (see *C. Sallusti*, ed. by Kurfess, p. 46, lines 27–28).

‘HABENT SUA FATA LIBELLI’¹

Medieval texts, as I hope to have shown in this study, cannot be divorced from the physical form in which they were created, or in which they were transmitted. No other period in Western history is as inexorably embodied in the physical manifestation of its written texts as the Middle Ages. The handwritten codex is a principal witness of the medieval period. This premise informed my inquiry into how two medieval Latin poems, written on the back of a charter, came to be part of a codex put together from parchment scraps in Paris in the nineteenth century.

To find the answer, I was led, as were other scholars of Echternach, to examine a central element in the history of medieval learning, namely the fate of manuscript collections. The dispersal of the ancient library of Echternach and the French appropriation of its most important books in the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars are an example of the alienation of cultural patrimony. Such events in the history of the great figurative arts are well known to the general public. But their effects are no less significant in the case of books, libraries, and archives, the dispersal of which restricts our ability to reconstruct the past with accuracy. I have discussed above the dispersal of Echternach’s books after the occupation of Luxembourg by French troops and described the role played by the former Benedictine monk Jean-Baptiste Maugérard who acted as the agent for the French. I have presented evidence which suggests that the BnF, including the great scholar Léopold Delisle, may have played a part in covering up the presence of

¹ Terentianus Maurus, *De syllabis*, line 1286 in *Grammatici latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii*, ed. by Heinrich Keil, vol. VI (Leipzig: Teubner, 1874; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961), p. 363: ‘Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli’ (Books have their own fate according to their reception by the reader).

much of the Echternach material in Paris and in preventing its return to Luxembourg. More significantly, I have tried throughout this study to place my sources in the context of the ancient library of Echternach at a time when it housed all the texts and books now scattered.

The ensuing tale — of the fragment and of the codices of which it has been an integral element — became to a certain extent a work of detection, in which fragmentary clues were put together to reconstruct a coherent narrative. Some of this investigation has been concerned with codicological details and similarly technical data. But the story also reflects broad elements of the history of medieval manuscripts and of the modern interest in their recovery and reconstruction. This history is generally told in relation to illuminated codices, which became objects desired by collectors and connoisseurs early in the nineteenth century, thus influencing their historical and monetary value. But plain codices and their fragments were also affected by this development, for they were valuable for other reasons. Along with some of the most beautifully illuminated manuscripts now preserved in the BnF, many other codices chosen to be brought to Paris after the secularization of the abbey of Echternach were distinguished by their historical significance and their contents, not their decoration. An ancient copy of Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks* was, not surprisingly for what was considered the first national history of the French people, of particular interest to the officials who were creating the BnF. They also favoured secular texts, especially the works of the canonical authors. BnF, MS lat. 10195, the codex which first enclosed the charter of Sigefrithus and Hathawiga, was appropriated by the French most likely because it contained important classical texts: Sallust, Cicero, Macrobius, and Plato (in Calcidius's translation). Once it was liberated from its Echternach binding, our bifolium was preserved — and not destroyed as would have been the case in the early age of printing, when entire manuscripts were thrown away or burned — because by then modern attitudes favoured the recovery and the reconstruction of medieval fragments. As previously mentioned, such preservation is more widely known when it comes to illuminated fragments or leaves, which came to be seen as specimens of the art of their period, or they could even be collected and reconstituted by contemporary artists into totally new objects, or new 'originals', valuable for their own sake. However, the creation at the BnF of numerous factitious codices, unified in contents and appearance, out of binding fragments shows that text fragments received similar treatment in scholarly circles.

I have engaged in a similar act of restoration in reuniting, at least on these pages, the bifolium to the codex to which it was joined at the beginning. I have read the bifolium as part of a miscellany, in which the individual contents are best

understood when viewed as part of a whole. The implications that derived from this restoration to my understanding of the fragment and its contents cannot be overemphasized. In my estimation, any discussion of the contents of the bifolium, both charter and poems, comes back to the fragment's codicological location. This link has allowed me to propose that the extraordinary contemporary use of the bifolium as a combination paste-down/flyleaf was an act of deliberate conservation, which allowed the monks of Echternach, at the turn of the first millennium, to preserve the memory of their great benefactor (a second founder in fact), whose exemplary last donation to Echternach was recorded in this bifolium. Most importantly, I could now read the poems within their immediate material context, the other texts contained in the codex, and within the milieu of the scribes who had copied them and the scholars who had glossed them, as well as within the larger context of Echternach's eleventh-century culture.

Both 'Salve abba mitissime' and 'O sacrata dies' provide, on one level, a reflection on poetic genre and its limitations. As we have seen, 'Salve abba mitissime' recalls but undermines the tradition of monastic *caritas-Lieder*. 'O sacrata dies' is striking at first as an exotic metrical tour de force. The inclusion of the rare dasia notation on both poems also concentrates the focus on stylistic features. Certainly these formal characteristics reflect an interest in experimentation that ought to be considered within the larger culture of Echternach during the second half of the eleventh century. At the same time, as I have tried to show in Chapter 7, the poems' glosses — both musical and verbal — indicate that these compositions were not marginal, isolated, casual creations, as their survival on a fragmentary and deracinated parchment in a factitious codex might at first suggest. Rather, they were fully a part of the codex in which they were transmitted and were studied by Echternach's scholars and teachers in a manner not unlike that applied to the ancient school texts copied in the codex proper. My reading of the poems, therefore, by their material restoration into the book where they were first copied, has also been a means to reintegrate them within the cultural context that created them. Nor should their anonymity be seen as significant. Most poetic compositions from the Middle Ages have come down to us without an author's name, which may once have been known in the milieu in which the poems were used.²

Both poems reflect a monastic community steeped in a deeply allegorical biblical-literary culture. 'Salve abba mitissime' and 'O sacrata dies' demonstrate the common Christian understanding that the Holy Scriptures have two meanings,

² For a critique of the preoccupation of 'old philology' with authorship, see Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, p. 62.

one literal and one spiritual, or hidden under the letter. 'Salve abba mitissime' explores the value of both meanings, just as food and drink are both necessary to human existence. This view is underscored by the poem's comparison of biblical exegesis to Eucharistic bread and wine, in which both components are treated as equals. 'O sacrata dies', instead, makes a different comparison, by showing that the Old and New Testament have the same relationship as the literal and spiritual meaning. While the poem embodies the 'unity of the two Testaments', their opposition is also underscored.³ In the poem, Christ's fulfilment of the Old Testament types and his embodiment of New Testament prophecies and symbols are clearly privileged and provide moral guidance for those who would follow his example, namely the monks who wrote and read these poetic compositions.

My discussion has emphasized the significance of the patristic tradition of biblical exegesis in our understanding of the poems within the monastic community of Echternach in the eleventh century, in which the Bible, the liturgy, and the patristic tradition are fully integrated. In the medieval monastery, the Scriptures were studied and ruminated in private; they were discussed at the daily collation held by the abbot for the monks; they were intoned in prayer and interpreted in the patristic homilies read during the performance of the Liturgy. I have argued that 'O sacrata dies' is best understood as a poetic example of *lectio divina*, for it seeks to draw its audience to meditate on the Scriptures' significance. The poem's emphasis on Christ's death and resurrection, a departure from the poem's two earlier models of Sedulius and Hrabanus Maurus, lays stress on the concept of applied typology, by which the Fathers, and especially Gregory the Great, emphasized biblical hermeneutics that had immediate moral implications and looked forward to the Parousia.

Likewise, as discussed, the image of the Scripture as food, central to 'Salve abba mitissime', has very deep patristic, and even biblical, roots. I have argued in my reading of this poem that the representation of the abbot who feeds his monks not only with the spiritual food of biblical teaching but also with Eucharistic bread and wine mirrors the contemporary eleventh-century debates on the nature of the Eucharist. Although I have emphasized this new element in 'Salve abba mitissime', it is important to stress that this is in fact an elaboration of traditional patristic teachings that join the Bible and the Eucharist, and thus the two poems themselves. 'Salve abba mitissime' and 'O sacrata dies', separated in modern scholarship, which has read one poem without reference to the other, are fundamentally related, and they are best understood if they are read together, just as they were copied on the parchment, one above the other.

³ For such opposition, see de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, pp. 227–28.

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